"९वी. से १२वी. शताब्दी तक बुन्देलखण्ड में चन्देलों की प्रमुख लड़ाईयों का विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन"

ANALYTICAL STUDY BETWEEN 9th TO 12th CENTURY OF CHANDEL'S FAMOUS BATTLE'S IN BUNDELKHAND

A

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
BUNDELKHAND UNIVERSITY, JHANSI
FOR THE AWARD OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph. D.)

IN

DEFENCE STUDIES

By

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Under The Supervision of

Dr. O. P. Singh

Head

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE STUDIES
ATTARA P. G. COLLEGE, ATTARA
BANDA

November, 1992

DEDICATED
To
BUNDELKHAND
With A Motto of
PEACE AND SECURITY

DR. O.P. SINGH
HEAD

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE STUDIES
ATTARA P.G. COLLEGE,
ATTARA, BANDA.

DECLARATION

I assert that Sri Virendra Singh Bhadawaria (M.A. Defence Studies), Lecturer; Department of Defence Studies, Attara P.G. College, Attara, Banda is submitting his thesis on the topic entitled "Analytical Study between 9th to 12th Century of Chandela's Famous Battle's in Bundelkhand" to the Bundelkhand University, Jhansi for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Defence Studies under my supervision through the Attara P.G. College, Attara Defence Studies Research Centre. His research work is original and not submitted elsewhere for any degree or diploma. He has specially studied the above strategic course of knowledge at post-graduate level.

I firmly state my recommendation for the award of Ph.D. degree and all kinds of success during his academic journey.

Date: Kartika Purnima:
10th Nov.,1992

(O.P. SINGH)
SUPERVISOR

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Thanks.

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PREFACE

This Research work embodies the results of an intensive study of the Geogstrategical study of Bundelkhand region and dynasty history of the Chandela's ruler. Bundelkhand regions is the heart of Indian sub-continent. My interest in it dates back to the days when I was posted in Attara PG College Attara, as a lecturer capacity. The theme of my thesis is geo-strategical study of Bundelkhand and dynasty history of Chandela's ruler.

The purpose of this research work, therefore, is to investigate the bearings of the geographical factors in Bundelkhand regions Defence strategy and tactics. Natural factors such as strategic location relief features, climatic conditions, areas and extension, frontiers and natural resources and the like have gone a long way to shape and fashion the direction of defensive surategy and tactics of Bundelkhand. Further, human factor like faith and tradition of the people, agriculture and industries, transport have also contributed to the strong defensive position of Bundelkhand.

The Research work has been divided into eight Chapters. The First few chapters which are of a general nature, deal mainly with the scientific methods of war, physical features of Bundelkhand regions and dynasty history of Chandela's ruler. The later chapters give strategical and tactical importance of Bundelkhand famous battle's of Chandela's ruler, fort and fortification which are largely based upon field study.

A number of photographs taken by me illustrate the Research work. Panoramic sketches of peaks and a few simple maps further enhance the value of this thesis.

I humbly crave the indulgence of the external & internal Examiner and other readers in this regard as also for the errors that have crept in the process of typing inspite of all possible care to avoid them.

Thanks,

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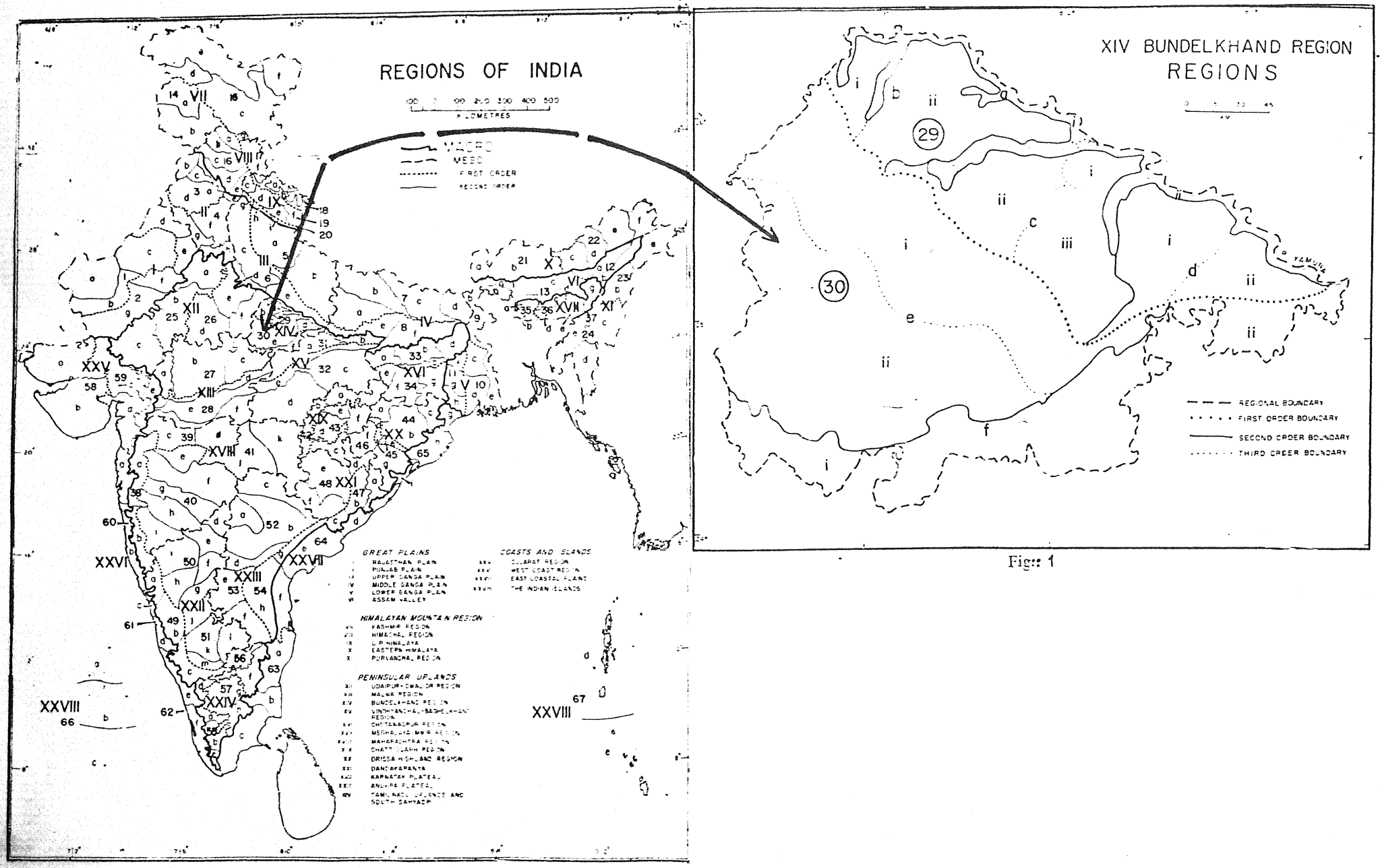
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U.P. HIMALAYA
EASTERN HIMALAYA
PURVANCHAL REGION
PENINSULAR UPLANDS
UDAIPUR-GWALIOR REGION
MALWA REGION
BUNDELKHAND REGION
VINDHYACHAL-SATPURA-MAHADEV-KAIMUR REGION
CHOTANAGPUR REGION
MEGHALAYA HILLS REGION
MAHARASHTRA REGION
CHATTISGARH REGION
ORISSA HIGHLAND REGION
DANDAKARANYA
KARNATAK PLATEAU
ANDHRA PLATEAU
TAMILNAD, KERALA AND SOUTH SAHYADRI
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REGIONS
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FIRST ORDER BOUNDARY
SECOND ORDER BOUNDARY
THIRD ORDER BOUNDARY
YAMUNA

Fig:: 1

CHAPTER-I

SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND THE STUDY OF WAR

1.I. INTRODUCTION

The rise and growth of civilization has been influenced by a number of factors amongst which 'war' has been recognized as a prominent one, so much so, as to have been regarded the fore-runner of the civilization and development, at least as a source of encouragement to the man to become more strong and versalite. As such, war reflects its position of an arbiter, more so, as the ultimate method after the failure of all means of resolving the disputes. War may be compared with a state of strife, tension and conflict having variation in terms of the intensity of effect, massacre and loss. In other words, it is the ultimate stage of resolving dispute through the use of force. It is also regarded as the state, situation or the fact of "Exerting violence or force against a state or other politically organised body; especially, a contact by force between two or more nations or states". For some people, it is the condition which permits "two or more hostile states to carry on a conflict by armed force (Merill, A. Brent: 1982).

Different experts and scholars have defined war from their respective disciplines point of view but all having conformity

in the broadest sense that war is "a violent contact of distinct but similar entities". To have a narrower or more clear understanding about the war, the difference, though subtle, has to be drawn because the contact, howsoever biolent it may be between the distinct but similar entities; could be a fight between the lions and tigers a collision of stars; a battle between two primitive tribes or the hostilities between the two modern nation will have to be accepted as war. (Quincy Wright: 1965) in his book "A Study of War" has considered war as the legal condition, which equallypermits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force. He elaborates the legal aspect of the war as a condition or period of time in which special rules permitting and regulating violence between governments previal or a procedure of regulated violence by which disputes between governments are settled (Quincy Wright; 1926). Whereas in the material sense war is "an act or a series of acts of violence by one government against another or a dispute between governments carried only violence (Quincy Wright; 1926), in brief, he has regarded war as "the condition which prevails while groups are contending by arms (Quincy Wright; 1935). In both the cases the existence of an objective, use of physical, biological and social phenomena are applicable but with difference while in case of the former; the violence may not be in an organized from to achieve rapid destruction as it is applicable in case of the latter in the form of armed force.

On the basis of its nature and content the war has been understood differently by people from various shades but all of them agree in one way or the other; that war is a 'contention' which means it is a violent struggle through the application of armed force. (M.C. Nair; 1962). They can be broadly divided into two schools of thought, one opposing it while the other supporting it. The former school of thought considers war as a problem (U. Nef. John; 1963). For them "It is a plague which ought to be elimina ted a mistake which should be avoided, a crime which ought to be punished and an anachronism which no longer serves any purpose". Where as the other school of thought with a more respective attitude towards the war; regards it is fruitful adventure, a useful instrument; a legitimate and appropriate procedure and "a condition of existence for which one must be prepared. At the level of tactics applied for the realization of foreign policy was has been regarded to be "the culiminating point in a rising scale of pressure. It is the last resort of power politics (Georg, Schwarzenberger; 1964). On the basis of this division of thought on war it would be essential to understand the underlying factors that influence the nature of war and its relativity to the origin and growth of the civilization.

1.I-a: <u>What is War</u>: To different people war may have very different meanings. To some it is a plague which ought to be eliminated; to some a mistake which should be avoided, to others

a crime which ought to be punished; and to still others, it is an anachronism which no longer serves any purpose. On the other hand, there are some who take a more receptive attitude toward war and regard it as an adventure which may be interesting, an instrument which may be useful a procedure which may be legitimate and appropriate, or a condition of existence for which one must be prepared.

To people of the latter type war is not a problem. They take it for granted whether with eagerness, complacency or concern. Its details may prove unexpected or disagreeable; but they are not interpreted as presenting a problem of war-in-general. They can be satisfactorily handled by the professional historian, diplomat, international lawyer, or strategist.

War has ever remained man's most despicable but unavoidable concomitment. It might have been defined differently in various ages but essentially it remained the same dastardly act of violence, killing men for their singular fault of belonging to the opponent's side.

In modern times the war perhaps can be defined as a state of disturbed peace taking the shape of declared or undeclared hostility between two or more countries.

History develops generalization true of a particular time and place of the past. Practice assumes generalizations true as guides to particular ends of the future. Science strives

for generalizations which accord not only with the observations upon which they were based but also with all future and past observations unknown at the time the generalization was made.

It has often been assumed that war is something which happens with little possibility of prediction. The circumstances of a war, its antecedents and consequences, can be recorded but according to this opinion each war is unique. The record of wars thus constitutes a history but cannot be made into a science. There are, it is true, principles and rules of war which purport either to regulate the initiation and conduct of war or to guide generals to victory. These, however, are jural or practical laws establishing norms which may or may not be observed according to the efficiency of international sanctions or the intelligence of general officers. Are there also laws which may enable the student to predict the incidence and manifestations of war because of the characteristics and relationships of the populations; nations, states, and armies.

The difference between historic laws, normative laws, and scientific laws ought not to be exaggerated; In fact, the term "Natural Law" has at times been applied to all (O. Lovejoy, Gilbert Chinard, George Boas, Ronald S. Crane (1935) and James, Bryce (1901)). The biological nature of man which functioned in past historic epochs differs little from that which functions today or will function tomorrow. The sanctions behind jural law constants cannot be clearly distinguished from variables and the

and the reason behind technical and strategic principles are characteristics of human societies which may be no less "Natural" than any other of their characteristics:

> "Yet nature is made better by no means;
> But nature makes that means".
> -Shakespeare

Happenings of human history and norms of human law and practice can be taken as evidence of the nature or law of human society no less applicable in the future than in the past. "The rule to which future events have a tendency to conform". Wrote Charles S. Peirce, "is an important thing, an important element in the happening of those events", and as much a mode of being as are "actual facts and positive qualitative possibilities (Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss- 1931). It seems therefore; premature to deny the possibility of valid generalisations to which the future of war will tend to conform.

To ascertain such generalizations involves the application of scientific method (Bahm; A.J., 1941). Scientific method applied to social activity, which is typically a problem-solving activity, differs, in some respects from that method applied to physical phenomena and yields results which are much less precise. In dealing with social activity historic time can never be entirely eliminated as an unmeasurable factor, cause-and-effect relations cannot be entirely separated from means and end relations, constants cannot be clearly distinguished from variables and the

subject matter cannot easily be divided into disciplines within which specialised method may be emphasized. The presence of contingency; of purpose, of universal changes and of universal interrelatedness, flowing from the number; subjectivity; instability complexity and problematic character of the factors involved renders the application of scientific method to human and social problems exceptionally difficult and frequently unproductive.

The isolation of problems and disciplines, the establishment of standards of measurement and frames of reference the elimination of personal biases, must be accomplished by art in all sciences, but in the physical sciences the art is closely guided by the observation of nature (Einstein; quoted in George-de-Santillana and Edgar Zilsel; 1941). Fictions while necessary in the natural sciences are the essence of the social sciences. The social scientist must create a structure of assumptions and use a language which is at the same time symbolic and emotive. Unless be can establish his assumptions by successful propaganda, it is hardly worth while to make hypotheses or to investigate their validity.

For the problem of war this means that the scientific investigator must employ his own conviction of what the future of war ought to be as one of the assumptions for predicting what it will be. He must, however, recognise that others will similarly employ their own convictions. Wishful thinking about war constitutes a major elements in scientific thinking about war. An

evaluation of faiths is an indispensable key to the future.

1-II. THE MEANING OF WAR

The historical events which have been called wars have been characterized by:

(a) Military activity,

(b) High tension level,

(c) Abnormal law; and

(d) Intense Political Integration.

1-II-a: Military Activity: The most obvious manifestation of war is the accelerated movement and activity of armies and navies. While modern states are at all times engaged in moving naval and military forces around; in constructing battleships, guns and munitions, in organizing and training armies, and in making military appropriations; war is marked by a great accelerations in the speed of such activities. Such pehnomena as mobilization conscription, blockade, siege, organized, fighting, invasion and occupation may all occur without war but they occur more frequently and on a larger scale during war. Each of the terms "battle campaign", "war" "arms race and normal military activity" designates acreation in intensity of military activity. The type of events or conditions designated by each successive term manifests a lesser intensity of military activity but a wider space and a longer period of time in which sich activity is occurring the characteristics of each of these types of activity deserve attention.

1.II-a-I: Battle: The most concentrated type of military activity is the battle. It may be taken as a generic term to cover a period of continuous direct contact of armed forces in which at least one side is engaged in a tactical offensive. There may be a battle of land forces; of Naval forces or of air forces. There may be a single battle combining all of these forces, as, for instance, in the siege of a port or a landing operation. In wars of past centuries battles have usually been identificable events, seldom lasting except in the case of sieges, over a day seldom covering over a hundred thousand man. This is no longer true. The progress of invention with respect to instruments of communication, transportation, defence and attack has made it possible for centralized military direction to be maintained over vastly greater numbers of men, operating through greater areas, for longer period of time.

1.II-a-II: Campaign: A less concentrated type of military activity than the battle is the compaign. This term is used to designate a group of military operations with in a limited period of time connected by a strategic plan under the control of a single command. Several battles may be fought during a compaign but a compaign may be conducted without any actual contact with the enemy. A compaign does, however, involve movements of actual armies, navies, or airforces, of which at least one side is engaged in a strategic offensive, such as an effort to occupy hostile territory, to acquire resources from the enemy to destroy

hostile forces to blockade hostile territory, to break civilian morale by military attacks or to accomplish other military objectives. A compaign is more likely than a battle to combine both the army and the navy, but ordinarily it includes only one. In the past, compaigns have usually been identifiable events, seldom lasting over six or eight months and involving only two or three armies of from 50,000 to 100,000 men each (Wright; Quincy; 1965). Naval compaigns sometimes covered very large areas and continued over longer periods but usually involved fewer men. The conditions which have increased the duration, area and number of participants in battles have done the same for compaigns. In recent major wars it has been as difficult to distinguish and identify compaigns as it has been to distinguish and identify battles. In major hostilities colonial wars, interventions, and insurrections. The compaign is the normal unit of military activity. Thus many compaigns occur outside of recognized wars.

1.II-a-III: War: From the military point of view it is more difficult to identify wars than either battles or campaigns. The unity of a war derives more from legal or political than from military activities. The list of wars of modern history included in this study is based primarily upon the fact of legal recognition manifested by the application of the laws of war in the relations of the participants and of the laws of neutrality in the relations of participants to non-participants. As evidence of the beginning and end of this legal status declarations,

recognitions, and treaties were the usual criteria. Hostilities involving over 100,000 troops were, however, included even if not recognized as war, and even lesser hostilities were included if they led to important legal results. Such as the creation or extinction of states or territorial transfers.

Periods of war have been characterized by military movements of abnormal size and frequency. The battles and campaigns of a war are usually united through the continuity of the political direction of each of the belligerents and the persistence of a grand strategical objective of at least one of the participating states. These unifying conditions, however, are not always present. From the military point of view a war does not usually have such clear time and space limitations as does a battle or a campaign (Dupny; R.E, 1939). From the legal point of view its time limitations and its space limitations, at least with respect to land, are usually precise. The military activity of a war has seldom been continuous for over five years, but there has been a hundred years. War, a thirty years, war a seven years, war and a number of other wars, such as the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, in which some military activity continued for more than five years. Usually, however, these periods were broken by long truces. Some of these wars continued through revolutionary changes in the political control of all or some of the belligerents; through a disappearance of old belligerents and entry of new ones, and through radical changes national economies may also have played a part. A knowledge of

in the war aims or grand strategic objectives of most of the participants. Thus the time-space continuum, which in a legal sense is designated a war, has not necessarily been accompanied by a unity or uniformity of intense military activity. While in international legal theory a state of war between two states begins and ends at definite moments of time, these moments have frequently been difficult to establish in practice.

1.II-a-IV: Armament Race: An even less precise type of military activity is the armament race. This is characterized less by military movements and hostile clashes, though such events may occur, than by acceleration in all countries involved of the rate of armament growth. Military and naval budgets, standing armies, and naval, air, and tank fleets become steadily larger. A larger proportion of the productive energy of states is devoted to military affairs. Armament races have usually lasted for thirty or forty years. They have been characterized by increasing frequency of small wars; imperial wars, and interventions, generally terminating in a balance-of-power war, during which military building reaches a maximum. For ten or twenty years after such a war there has usually been a period of demobilization and decline of military building, sometimes stabilized by disarmament agreements. Armament races have resulted primarily from the political relations of states involved in a balance-of-power-system, through the exigencies of arms-traders and of national economies may also have played a part. A knowledge of

political relations may disclose that armament races, proceedings imultaneously with a groups of states indifferent parts of the world, are distinct and unrelated phenomena. The growth of world communication and economic interdependence has, however, tended to bring all states into the world balance of power and to synchronize accelerated armament programs everywhere into a single race.

1.II-a-v: Normal Military Activity: This is a conception which can be ascertained only by studing the military history of a civilization over centuries to ascertain the size of military and naval budgets; the size of standing army, the proportion of National effort directed toward military affairs, and the frequency of minor and major uses of military force usual among the states of that civilization. Because of the dynamic character of western culture and of the operation of armament races; it is difficult to compare conditions separated by centuries. Because of the wide variations in the role of military affairs in different states, it is difficult to compare different areas at the same time. The conception of normal military activity is, therefore, difficult to apply to modern civilization. Theoretically, however, it constitutes a standard of comparison by which the more accelerated activity during armament races, wars, campaigns, and battles can be judged. If it is realized that the great powers of modern history have been formally at war nearly half of the time and have been engaged in minor military compaigns or armament-races a good share of the remaining time; it will be perceived that in

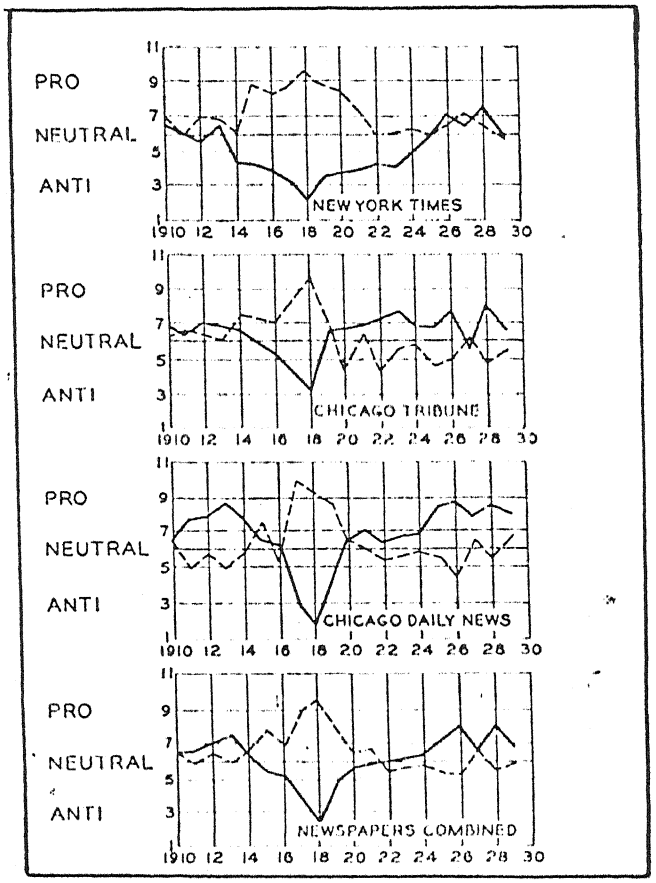

FIG. 1.—Trend of opinions in the United States toward France and Germany, 1910–29. Data are from the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Chicago Daily News* and from the three papers combined. Intensity of opinion is plotted along the ordinate (*1* = most "anti" and *11* = most "pro"), and time by years is plotted along the base line. The solid lines indicate trends in opinion toward Germany; the broken lines, toward France. (From *American Political Science Review*, XXVII [August, 1933], 558.)

modern civilization normal military activity would be quite remote from an ideal conception of peace (Maurice Lieut.col. J.F. 1883 and Kallen, H.M., 1939).

1.II-b HIGH TENSION LEVEL

Another manifestation of war is the high tension level of public opinion with in the belligerent states. Attention is concentrated upon symbols of the nation and of the enemy. Only favourable attitudes toward the former and unfavourable attitudes towards the latter are expressed. Graphs constructed from statistical analyses of numerous attitude statements taken from newspapers indicate that on the approach of war the opinions of the population of each country about the other become more hostile and more homogenous. During war itself these opinions reach levels of extra-ordinary hostility (Fig. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3).

Such graphs present the best picture of the changing direction, intensity homogeneity and continuity of the attitudes of one people toward another, but easily observable phenomena make possible a rough classification of the intensity of such attitudes. Five states of tension level may be expressed by the words "symbolic attach", threats of violence; "discrimination, "disapproval" and "normal relations".

1.II-b-I: Symbolic Attack: In time of war the press, public addresses, sermons, moving pictures, the radio, and other instruments of publicity frequently contain direct attacks, upon the

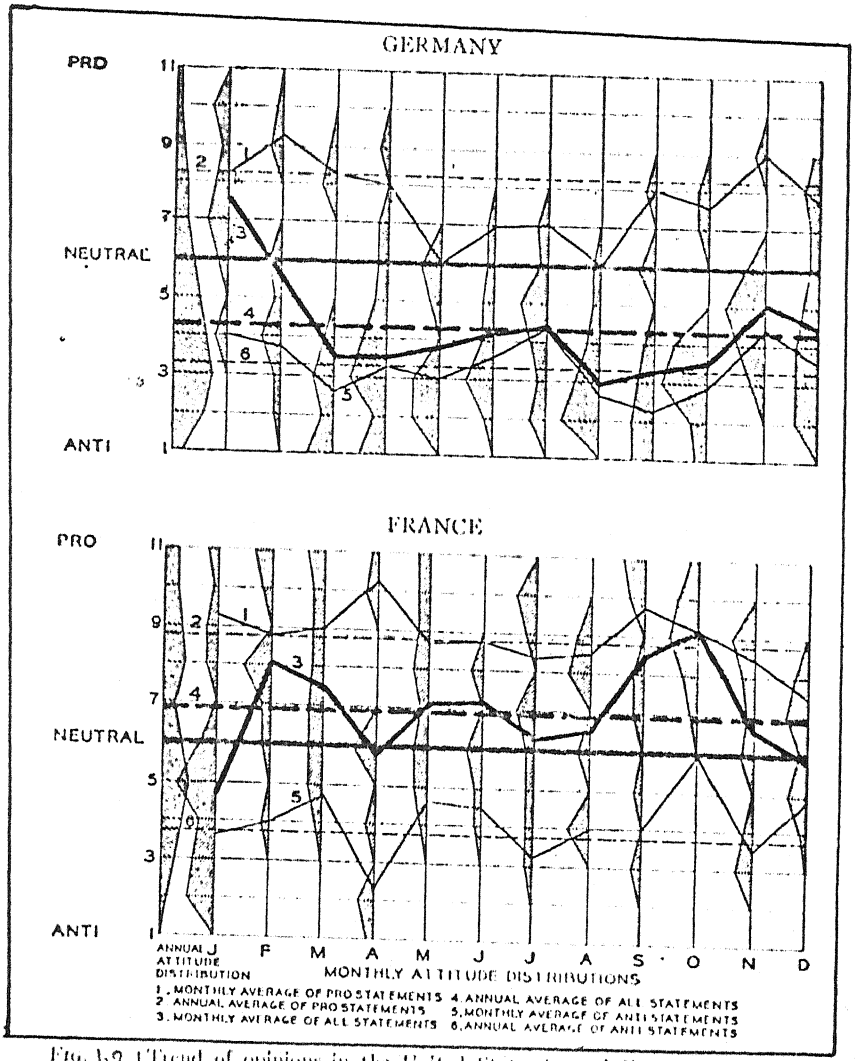

FIG. 62.—Trend of opinions in the United States toward France and Germany, 1933. Data are from the *New York Times*. The thickness of the vertical lines indicates the distribution of opinion statements each month. (From Quincy Wright, *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* [London, 1935], p. 110.)

enemy, emphasizing his satanism and urging his destruction. Such sentiments may appear not only in un-official but in official utterances. The latter were formerly rare except in time of war, but with the development of radio, braking down the distinction between domestic and foreign communication, they have become more common (Lasswell; H.D.: 1927).

1.II-b-II: Threats of Violence: Treats of violence against another state may be publicized in time of strained relations short of war, but if they proceed directly from high officials of the government they are likely to lead to a breach of relations or to war itself overt-threats, especially if accompanied by naval and military movements, have been considered much more serious than formal diplomatic protests, though the latter may carry an implication of eventual resort of force. The United States resented the predication of "grave consequences" in the Japanese Ambassador's note on the immigration crisis in 1923, interpreting it as a threat of war. The abusive comments of Hitler toward President Benes of Czechoslovakia in his address of September 12, 1938, indicated that hostilities might be near at hand. "Incidents concerning nationals, vessels or officials of one country for which another country is considered responsible, but which might be of little political importance in normal times, are often interpreted as threats in times of high tension and may result in a breach of diplomatic relation. (Moore, J.B.: 1906) and (Stowell, Ellery, C.: 1931).

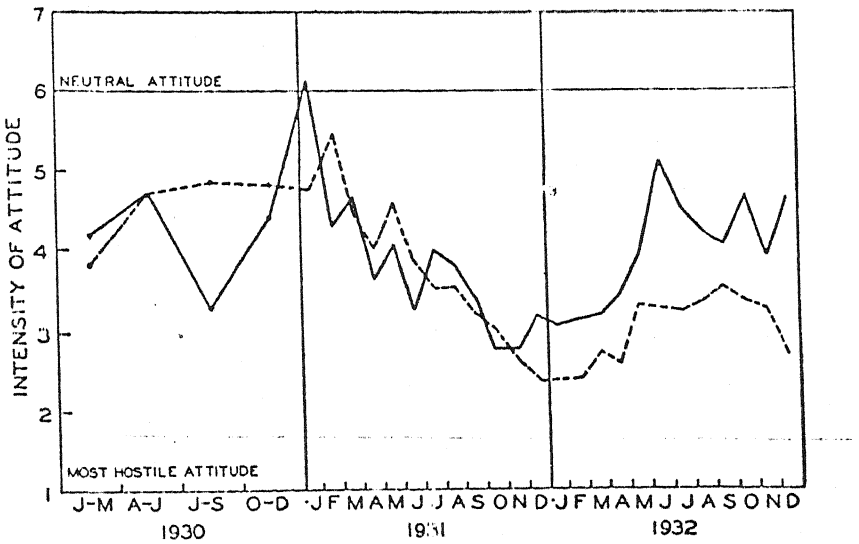

FIG. 3 Trend of opinions in China toward Japan and in Japan toward China, 1930-32. Data are from the *China Critic* and other Chinese publications for opinion toward Japan (*broken line*) and from the *Osaka Mainichi* for opinion toward China (*solid line*). Intensity of opinion is plotted along the ordinate, and time (by quarter for 1930 and by months for 1931 and 1932) is plotted along the base line. (From *American Political Science Review*, XXVII [August, 1933], 562.)

1.II-b-III: Discrimination: Private boycotts and official discriminations in tariff rates export, import, and navigation embargoes, and prohibitions against loans and concessions are an evidence of strained relations; but they frequently occur without war and are usually considered lessserious than threats and displays of force. Such economic discriminations are always intensified between enemies in time of war (Simpson, Janice, C.: 1935).

1.II-b-IV: Disapproval: Official expressions of disapproval of the policy or behavior of a foreign state manifest a serious strain in relations if they concern the internal policy of that state or its relations with third states. References to the policy of another government are not, however deemed as serious as utterances disrespectful or contemptuous of the personality of high officials or of the state itself. The attitudes of governments toward such criticism have varied with respect to the degree of resentment which should be felt and with respect to the responsibility of states for hostile utterances made by private individuals or in private publications (Wright, Q.: July:1938). Autocracies are likely to be much more sensitive on such matters than democracies (January:1940) Dyke, Vernon Van).

1.II-b-v: Normal Relations: In the normal relations of states formal protests are usually confined to cases where the state, its government; or its nationals have been injured because of a breach of international obligations by another state. Objections

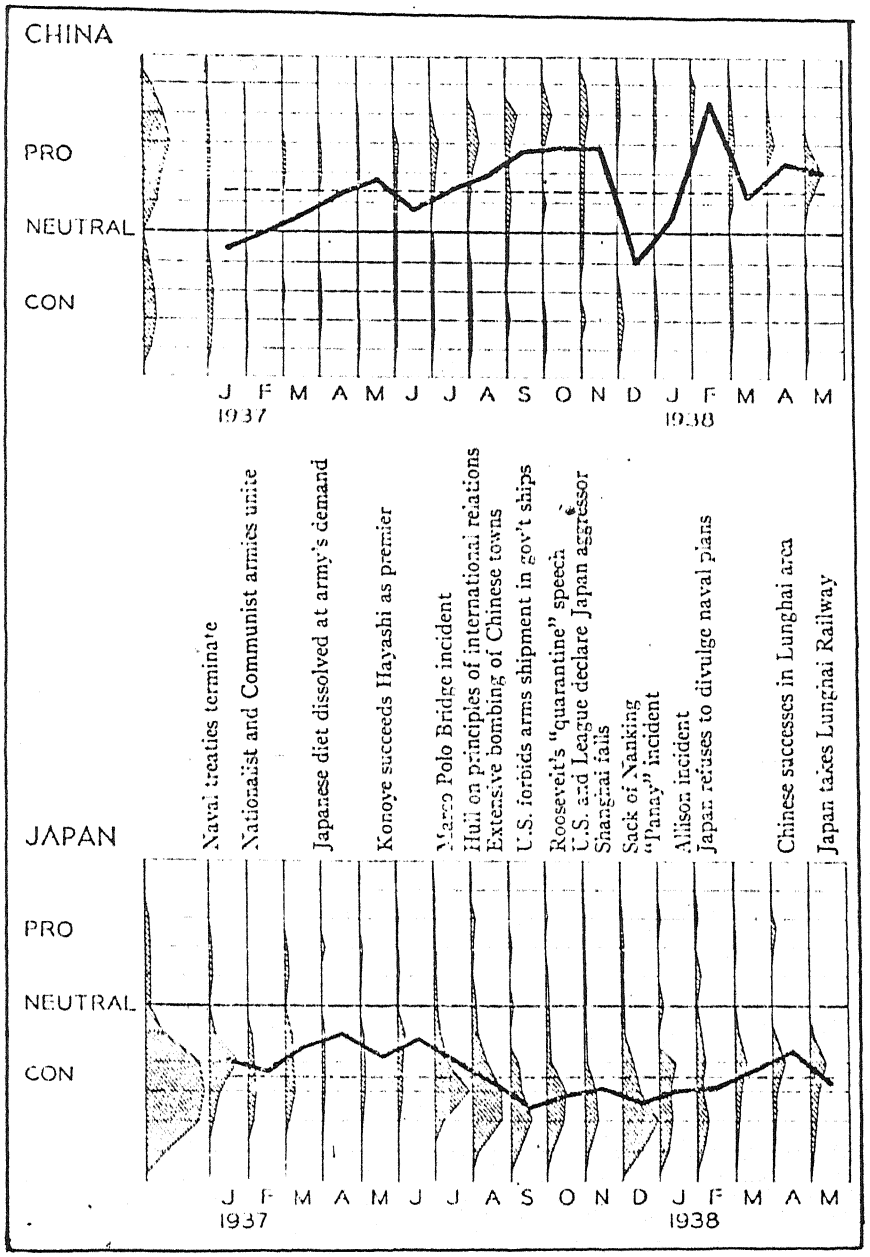

FIG. 1-2.2 Trend of opinions in the United States toward China and Japan, 1937-38. Data are from the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Chicago Daily News* combined. The thickness of the vertical lines indicates distribution of opinion statements each month. (From *Public Opinion Quarterly*, III [January, 1939], 48).

to the policy of another state are not formally protested although they may be made the subject of representations. Even in normal times the private press sometimes abuses other states; but unless excessive or unless the press is controlled by the government, such license does not indicate a strain in relations. The normal level of respect manifested by the government of one state for another varies greatly among different states and at different times (Stowell, Ellery, C.: 1931).

1.II-c: ABNORMAL LAW

A third manifestation of war is the entry into force of new rules of law, domestic and international contracts with alien enemies are suspended. Resident alien enemies are interned or placed under supervision (Kempner, Robert, M.W.: 1940). Trading with the enemy is prohibited. Many treaties with the enemy are terminated or suspended. Military forces are free to invade the enemy territory and to attack its armed forces, limited only by the rules of war. Neutrals are obliged to prevent the use of their territory or vessels for military purposes by belligerents. Neutral vessels at sea are liable to b visit and search and to capture if they assist the enemy (Oppenheim, L.: 1940).

In the case of war, recognized as such in the legal sense, all these rules come into force. There are other situatins in which a modified form of abnormal law prevails. The legal situation consequent upon an outbreak of hostilities differs accordingly as the violence occurs in a states home territory;

in a colonial area of different culture, or in the relations of two recognized states. It may also differ accordingly as the two parties are equal or are moderately or greatly disparate in status (Wright, Q.:1930). The following nine categories may, therefore, be distinguished with respect to the abnormal legal situation with results:

Relative status of Combatants	International strife	Colonial strife	Civil Strife
Equality in status	International war	Imperial War	Civil War
Moderate disparity in status	Aggression defence	Colonial revolt Punitive expedition	Insurrection Military subpression.
Great disparity In status	Disorder intervention	Native unrest Pacification	Mob violence Policy

1.II-c-1: Civil War, Imperial War and International War: If recognized as such imply that both sides are to be treated as equals by other status designated neutrals. Both are entitled to the rights and powers of belligerents as long as the war lasts. In civil war and often in imperial war the revolt is in violation of the municipal constitution and laws of the state and if the legal government is successful, it may of course, apply its own law to punish treason after hostilities are over. In international war one of the parties may be acting in violation of its obligations under international law, and this fact may influence the

settlement, even though the states have generally recognized the situation as 'war' by proclaiming neutrality (Wright, Q. July:1940).

1.II-c-II: Insurrection, Colonial Revolt and Aggression: Its not recognized as legal war do not imply a duty of third states to treat the two parties as equal. In the case of insurrection or native uprising the recognized government has usually been favoured by third states. The treatment of the Spanish loyalists on a parity with the insurgents under the non-intervention agreement of 1936 was an exception in this respect (Wadelford, E.J.: 1939). If a state engaged in international hostilities has been found by appropriate international procedures to be an aggressor, in the sense that it resorted to force in violation of its international obligations; third states may discriminate in favour of its innocent victim engaged in defence.

1.II-c-III: Mob Violence and Native Unrest: Mob violence and native unrest with in the state's domain and intervention in a dependent state do not usually involve international law of siege or martial law in such situations. The case of a great power intervening to deal with disorders or international delinquencies in a much smaller independent state has often been treated in a similar manner. In law; however, the justifiability of the intervention is properly an internation question to be decided by international procedures according to international law (Dickinson, E.D.: 1920). As treaties now generally prohibit forceful intervention except for defence, there is a presumption against the

legitimacy of such action unless expressly permitted by a protectorate; mandate, or other treaty relation with the state in whose territory the action is taken or unless that state has been found guilty of an aggression which withdraws it from the benefits of anti-war treaties and permits military sanctions against it. (Wright, Q.: 1925).

I.II-B: INTENSER POLITICAL INTEGRATION

A further manifestation of war consists in legal; social, and political changes within the belligerent community tending toward more intensive integration. Legislation regulates industry and directs it toward war production. Censorship comes into effect, and important instruments of communication are taken over by the government. Consumption may be rationed in many directions. Loyalties to church, party, or profession are subordinated to loyalty to the state.

The normal degree of government control of the activities of individuals varies greatly among states, but however intense or loose the normal control, it becomes more intense in time of war.

In time of war or threat of war the armament industry and the production of raw materials for its manufacture are usually the first economic activity to the regulated or taken over by the government. This is soon followed by the taking-over of agencies of transportation and communication, education and

propaganda. A more general control of business and consumption may follow. The last step has usually been the control of religion (Speier; Hans and Kahler, Alfred: 1939).

The intensive preparedness required by modern war tends to bring about many of these changes long before war begins. Totalitarian states exhibit this intensive political integration as a permanent characteristic (Lanterbach, A.T.: 1941).

1-III: DEFINITION OF WAR

Quincy Wright (1976) in his book 'The Study of International Relations opines", "War is the art of organising and employing armed force to accomplish the purposes of group. He includes the practical, historical, philosophical and scientific studies as the contributing factors to this art (Quincy Wright: 1976). At another place he considers "War to be a contention by force or as a social situation characterised by conflict, tension and large-scale violence in the relationship of groups". More specially "War is a species of conflict (Quincy Wright: 1965). According to him, war takes place as a consequence of a situation where in the legal sanctions failed to maintain an accepted system of law (Quincy Wright: 1965). Considering from the legal point of view; he narrows down this conception by referring to the situation which permits the participating groups to contend by armed forces (Quincy, Wright: 1976), and also "the situation during which two or more political groups are equally entitled to settle conflict by armed forces (Quincy Wright: 1954). Writing

about the objectives of the war, he reiterates, war as a method of international politics employed by the states for establishing employed by the states for establishing their reputation and influence, it could also be employed by the insurgents and rivals to gain independence, by the national governments to suppress domestic and colonial revolts and by the international organization to suppress aggression and establish peace. To sum-up the objectives of war could be territorial, economic and cultural expansion; national independence security and solidarity, and international stability, law and peace. In this context, war has been regarded as to be a social institution based on a multiple of drives and a good deal of training. The social structure may be regarded as the route leading to conflict in a particular direction influenced by traditions and customs. The conflict may be between the nations, or between the classes within a state.

Lawrence has compared the war with "a contest carried on by public force between states or between state's communities. (Lawrence, T.J.: 1963). According to him the co-existence of contest and intention are essential for any war. In the absence of either of them it may be called reprisals or 'contest' but not war. Whereas Prof. Westlake has treated war to be a "condition or state of governments contending by force (M.P. Tondon & Rajesh Tondon: 1973). It is a legal situation which permits the groups to expand wealth and power by violence on equal basis.

The views of the famous expert in international law; Oppenheim, L. (1963) provide sufficient guidelines to understand the concept of war from legal point of view. For him, war is

"a contention between two or more states for the purpose of overpowering each other and imposing conditions of peace as the victor pleases. He further elaborates war to be a "violent struggle through the application of armed force, other measures may be incidently applied in connection there with (Oppenheim, L.: 1963). Some of the measures may include blockade, prohibition of trade with the enemy, capture of enemy's seaborne property with the objective of weakening his economic power to destroy his capability to resist which cannot be achieved without the use or threat to use the armed force. Since the war is a 'fact recognised' the international lawyers regard war as the legal remedy of self help to obtain satisfaction for a wrong sustained from another state (Oppenheim, L.: 1963).

If we take into consideration the views and definitions collected by M.C. Nair in Nair in Grotions Society, II (1926) pp. 31-34; the 'war' is a contention, i.e. a violent struggle through the armed force and is compared with "the condition of those contending by force as such (Oppenheim: 1963).

Hans Morgenthan (1969) has considered 'war' to be an organised violence and an instrument in the hands of the foreign policy of the state.

Another International Law expert, J.G. Starke (1972) in his book 'An Introduction to International Law' has pointed out that the war, in its most generally understood sense, is 'a contest between two or more states primarily through their

armed forces, the ultimate purpose of each contestant or contestant group being to vanquish the other or others and impose its own conditions of peace. The purpose of war according to him is "to overwhelm the opponent state, and to impose terms of settlement which that state has no alternative but to obey (J.G. Starke: 1972). In the modern war this definition appears to be incomplete as the war now is a contest, not primarilly between the armed forces of the states but it includes almost the entire population of the contesting states, rather it includes, some times, even the others, particularly the neight ouring states. If we consider the war to be the absence of peace only, as some people think it to be, it may not be proper because the absence of peace may be in the case of the existence of tension, hostilities or conflict. Such conditions may of course be regarded as the period of cold-war. Similar views have been expressed by Hall in "Driefoute". When differences between states reach a point at which both parties resort to force; or one of them does acts of violence, to which the other chooses to took upon as a breach of the peace, the relation of war is set up, in which the combatants may use regulated violence against each other, until one of the two has been brought to accept such terms as his enemy is willing to grant (J.G. Starke: 1972).

War is also regarded to be, "implicit in the anarchy of the nation- state system as it can be done away with only by terminating the existing of sovereign states" (H.Fredrick,

Hartman: 1952) each of which would desire to "satisfy the aspirations which led it to go to war or which it developed during the course of the war (Vernon Van Dyke: 1968). Kelson observes that war, in principle is "an enforcement of action involving the use of armed force performed by one state against another constituting as it does, and unlimited interference in the sphere of interests of the other state (M.P. Tondon & R. Tondon: 1973). The unilateral acts of force carried on by different states against the other without any reaction may not be war but a cause of the outbreak of the war. So the war takes place only when the opposite party performs reprisals through hostile acts (L. Oppenheim: 1963) and the state of war does not come into being unless a formal declaration for it by two or more states is made; irrespective of the fact that active hostilities may or may not have taken place before; Louiswirth has suggested that war is "an organized conflict in accordance with institutionalised rules for regulating the violence" it involves. War is also recognised as conflict carried on by force of arms as between nations or between classes within a nation but always intended to "compel the opponent to fulfil our will". It is not merely a calamity befelling from without but it is, "waged by men upon men for definite, though frequently mistaken, objects". (Juneja, M.M.: 1984). It is fought to protect what the states have to conserve their assets, to acquire resources, to eliminate the threat or to change a system, a government, an economy or a geo-political entity. War is one of the methods; a brutal method, to resolve antagonism. Palmer and Perkins in their

book "International Relations have Described War to be" the direct use of armed force (Palmer & Perkins: 1970).

Despite the fact that sincere efforts have been made by the mankind to eliminate war, it has become an integral part of the human life. The emergence of the idea of total wars in the shrinked world has effected the nature and the contents of the war. The events in the modern world have been taking place so rapidly as to impose the changes in the socio-political set up in an unprecedentedly rapid succession. "While formerly, a man might expect the technical and economic skill, social and moral code and the scheme of values which he received from his father to last through life today each of these may change several times in a single life. (Quincy Wright: 1965). A renowned sociologist, Herace Kallen writes: Peace and war are the facts which differ formally rather than materially and distinguishable by their locus and implements rather than by their intrinsic qualities as human behaviour. There are endless varieties of violent conflict between individuals, groups and nations. War is the name we give to one such variety peace is the name for all the others. Peace, it would appear, is the aggregation of chronic, diffused, unorganised domestic conflict. War is a conflict- acute, organised, unified and concentrated at the peripheries of the society's habitat. (Horace, Kallen: 1939). According to John Locke there are only two ways to solve human dispute- the one by law and the other by force and "where there is no law, force is the ultimate arbiter (J. Adler, Mortimer: 1963). The acceptance of this view

tends to deny the legitimacy of war as an institution aimed at resolving disputes created by violence of reasons in the existing society. From the sociological point of view, more "violent contention cannot be called war unless it involves actual conflict and constitute a socially recognized form or custom with in the society where it occurs (Quincy Wright: 1965). Since the war is a social custom utilising a regulated violence in connection with inter-group conflicts (Quincy Wright: 1965) it has been an integral part of almost all the existing human groups; howsoever primitive they may be. It did not exist as a distinct phenomenon in the absence of human societies. War had been recognised as a means of livelihood to get food, slaves or booty to expand hunting groups in the form of an instrument.

Cicero, a prominent philosopher, has defined war as a state of armed hostility between sovereign nations or governments. Grotius has criticised the definition as given by Cicero with emphasis that violent contention may not be called war unless it involves actual conflict.

Bernard Shaw has categorised war to be a biological necessity, an effective check against the population explosion. It is, therefore, not a natural calamity but is waged by men with definite objectives and is not an aim in itself but an instrument and a brutal method which divides mankind into masters and slaves, lords and serfs, imperialists and subjects capitalists and wage-victims and suppressers and the suppressed.

If we go into its literal meaning the 'New English Dictionary' explains war as "a hostile contention by means of armed forces carried on between nations, states or rulers or between parties in the same nation or states the employment of armed force against a foreign power or against opposing party in the state". Mr. Haffman Nickersan in Encyclopaedia of Britannica has further elaborated war to be, "the use of organised force between two human groups seeking to impose its policy upon the other". While according to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences the term war is generally applied to armed conflict between population groups conceived of as organic entities such as races or tribes, states or lesser geographic units, religions or political parties and economic classes. Armed conflict between states that legally enjoy complete and unlimited sovereignty is in modern thought treated as typically war (Edwin, R.A. Seligman: 1965).

Roursean, the renowned philosopher has viewed war as "a moral scandal of man because it indicated man's failure to fulfil his moral development in civil society". On the basis of this assumption, he has defined war as "a contention by force between the two states" and "only organised violence among consolidated groups deserves to be called war", it takes place, more often, from the "links between things rather than between men (Stainley, Hoffman: 1965). Roussean has regarded war not a human necessity or drive, where in one kills in order to win. He

has considered war, appropriately to be "a contest between states (i.e. Artificial bodies) and not between the individuals. (Stainley Hoffman: 1965). Elaborating on the stakes of war, he has observed that it is not because of man's need but the frills and fancies grafted on those needs by society. The war, therefore is "a permanent condition that requires constant relations (Stainley Hoffman: 1965).

Wars have been regarded as highly varied, diverse and complex when considered as a phenomenon. Though inseparable from the political system; they are, in fact continuation, with force of arms, of the policies of a state, a class with in the state which have pursued them for a long time as they were unable to survive without the use of force of arms.

Marxism and Leninism consider war to be "a socio-historical phenomenon occurring at a difinite state in the development of human society (V.D. Sokolovosky: 1963). on the basis of the studies of the Marxist and Leninist theories, it may be derived that "war is armed coercion organised armed conflict between the various social classes; states, groups of the countries and nations in order to achieve definite goals (V.D. Sokolovosky: 1963). Commenting on Clausewitz's dictum war is politics continued by other (i.e. foreable) means; Lenin said "the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for the meaning of every war (Lenin: 1929). According to E.M. Earle (1966) Lenin was aware that "warfare is not only

military but also diplomatic, psychological and economic in character, and that war and revolution were in continuous and fundamental relationship with one another.

Both Marx and Lenin understood and interpreted the war, in view of introducing changes in the socio-economic structure as a theoretical analysis was nothing but a spade work and preparation for the final revolutionary assault. They characterised war as to be determined by the policy of which the war is a continuation "by the class that is waging the war; and by the aims for which it is being waged" and that the war "itself does not change the direction in which the politics were developing before the war, it only accelerates this development (J.F.C. Fuller: 1960).

The military thinkers and soldiers have understood war as "the art which enables any commander to worst the forces opposed to him (H.B. John: 1960). For this, he should be conversant with a variety of aspects such as grand strategy, strategy, tactics, armaments organization, discipline, and, above all; that is required to aclieve the ultimate objective.

Field Marshall Montgomary (1968), the famous British Military Commander in his book, "A History of warfare has called, "War to be a prolonged conflict between rival political groups by force of arms". He includes "insurrection and civil war" also his definition but excludes riots and acts of individual violence. He feels the war to be an integral part of the history due to its

concern with the basic ingredients of life, food and a secured living place which worked as the absolute necessities for the primitive man as they are today. He traced the basic reasons of incessant fighting in the competition for minimum conditions of existence.

According to E.M. Earle, when war comes, it dominates our lives as it is like a great tempest which flows upon us all mingles with the church organ, whistles through the streats, steels into our firesides clinks glasses in barrooms, lifts the gray hair of statesman, invades the class room of our colleges, rustles the thumbed pages of our scholars. It offers inescapable tests of our allegiances of work and duty, private loves and public devotions, personal preferences and social ties (E.M. Earle: 1966) and according to Walter Mills, "it challenges virtually every other institution of society the justice and equity of its economy, the adequacy of its political systems, the energy of its productive plants, the basis, wisdom and purposes of its foreign policy. There is no aspect of our existence which is not touched; modified perhaps completely altered by the imperatives of war (E.M. Earle: 1966). Commenting of the significance of war; he writes, justice without force is important and force without justice tyrannical therefore we must combine justice with force (E.M. Earle: 1966).

While Machiavelli considered war to be, "an act of rendering justice" making it necessary to teach the individual

soldier the fundamentals of the use of arms and to accustom them to action formation. To him "political life was a struggle for survival between growing and expanding organisms. War is natural and necessary, it would establish which country would survive and determines between annihilation and expansion. War, therefore, must end in a decision, and a battle is the best method of reaching a quick decision; since it would place the defeated country at the mercy of the victor (Gilbert, Felix: 1966)) He made the study of war as a social science, dissociating it from the considerations of ethical purpose but closely related to the constitutional economic and political speculation.

J.F.C. Fuller has compared the war with an art like the practice of medicine wherein the effort is to prevent, cure or alleviate the diseases of human body so should the statesmen and soldiers prevent, cure or alleviate the wars which inflict the internation body.

They should understand the war not to, "take it for something to wish to make of it something, which by the nature of its relations, it is impossible for it to be (J.F.C.Fuller: 1960).

Von Moltke has described the war to be "a forceable action of a people in order to achieve, or maintain a purpose of state. Similarly Sun Tzuconsiders war to be "a great affair of the state, the realm of life and death; the road to safety or ruin, a thing to be studies with extreme diligence" and Vernon, Van Dyke treats war to be the ultimate means by which the states

"seeks to make their will prevail the ultimate expression of power (Vernan, Van, Dyke: 1968).

Major Gen. D.K. Palit of the Indian army writes in his book, the essentials of Military knowledge (1970), that the study of warfare has always been, a highly complicated subject" wherein actual fighting may be, "a relatively uncomplicated cut but the processes that follow it involve complex and often contradictory problems.

Till the coming of the French Revolution the wars were essentially clashes between the rulers but thereafter they became increasingly clashes between peoples. The interpreters of the French Revolution's wars with particular reference to Napoleon's conduct of war in the extreme annihilative form; have tended to treat the war to be "an act of violence intended to compel our apponent to fulfil our will (Carl Van, Clauscwitz: 1968). These interpreters; prominent among which clausewitz and Jomini have come to be known as the advocates rather proponents of the use of extreme violence in war with the objective of overthrowing the enemy. Clausewitz (1968) has compared war with "a duel on an extensive scale in which the extent of violence (force) used plays the decisive role for the achievement of the ultimate objective of "the compulsory submission of the enemy". He suggested that to eliminate all possible hostile reaction from the enemy the complete disarming and overthrowing of enemy must always be the aim of war. The war, therefore, is a means to

achieve the objective of the compulsory submission of the enemy to our will but for this the disarming becomes the immediate objective which can be materialised by shedding enemy's blood. It may be a horrible proposition but if it is not done the enemy would shed your blood which would be even more horrible. Therefore as apprehended by Roger Ashley Leonard, "one of the most dangerous of all errors in the prosecution of war is to permit a spirit of benevolence in interference with it (Roger, Ashely, Leonard: 1967) Clausewitz stressed that the art of war in its highest point of view is policy, but no doubt; a policy which fight battle instead of writing notes. The political objective and the objective of war being compulsory submission to our will, carried on by military forces of the state, the process therefore, becomes, 'a continuation of state's policy by other means (Ludendroff, cited by V.J. Esposito: 1954). It can not be treated separately in an isolated form but it is a social activity. War therefore, is not an independent thing in itself but we can as and when needed, have it. War, in other words, is an instruments to achieve an objective and not the contrary. To justify this aspect Clausewitz writes, "War actually takes place more for the defensive than for the conqueror, for invasion only calls forth resistance, and it is not until there is resistance that there is war. A conqueror is always a lover of peace, he would like to make his entry into our state unopposed; in order to prevent this, we must choose war, and therefore also make preparations, that is in others words, it is just the weak or that side which

must defend itself, which should be always armed in order not to be taken by surprise (Carl Van Clausewitz: 1968).

Having co-ordinated philosophy with experience, Clausewitz made the most significant analysis of war in his treatise on war. It includes a critical analysis of the philosophical aspect of the war as also its structural part based on a pragmatic approach which called for the 'absolute war' or the perfect war, that grew into the total war. He also laid equal stress on the theoretical aspect of the nature of the war. For his war is the transformation of absurdity into reality where in the instinctive hostility and hostile intention joined each other. However, war continues to be an act of force belonging essentially to the feelings. It emerges as a reciprocal action which logically is followed to the extreme. But the nature of war is decided by the objective and therefore, is relative and cannot be understood in isolation. It belongs to policy which decide its character. Therefore a grand and powerful policy may produce absolute form of war. Clausewitz does not accept the war without violence which is a "real business for the Brahmins" and feels that "to introduce into the philosophy of war- a principle of moderation would be an absurdity". For him the cambat is the real activity"and the essence of war is conflict" wherein "the direct destruction of the enemy's forces is predominant (J.F.C. Fuller: 1960). However, he also feels that the war "has to deal with living and moral forces the consequence of which is that it can never attain the absolute and the positive. There is, therefore, everywhere a

margin for the accidental, and just as much in the greatest things as in the smallest. This statement becomes more relative when viewed from the realistic angle as "war belongs to the province of social life to settled by bloodshed.

Clausewitz has been interpreted as to be the follower of absolute or the real war as he was of the opinion that "there can be no other reality in war than the complete overthrow of the enemy (J.F.C. Fuller: 1960). After having discussed the absolute and the limited war, Clausewitz discussed the principles that governed the plan of war and its execution which are to be in accordance with the objective of war such as:

(i) To conquer and destroy the enemy's armed force.

(ii) Foget possession of the material elements of aggression- of the hostile Army, and

(iii) To gain public opinion (J.F.C. Fuller: 1960).

Like Clausewitz, his contemporary military thinker Antoine Henri Jonini to studies the war from the conceptual and pragmatic angles. He has accused Bullow of having overemphasised the scientific aspect of warfare though himself stressed in his military doctrines scientific arguments and at the same time accusing Clausewitz of "making all military science impossible (Briton, Crane & A Craig Gorden and Gilbert Felix: 1966). His writings may be broadly categorised into those which were mainly of historical or analytical aspect of war but both interdependent. He was convinced that the war, being a form of human activity on

the earth, must make some sense. He did not agree with Marshall De Saye that "war is a science covered with darkness, in the midst of which one does not walk with an assured step" and that "all the science have principle, but that of war as yet none (E.M. Earle: 1966). He was of the opinion that the human mind has the capability of discerning and stating, systematic and successful conduct of war. According to him, "there have existed, in all times fundamental and unchanging principles that are independent of the kind of weapon (of historical teimes and of places) on which depend good results in warfare (E.M. Earle: 1966). He did not agree with the systems of war as he regarded war to be "an impassioned drama and in no way a mathematical operation (E.M. Earle: 1966) considering war to be an integral part of the civilization, Jomini believed the progress of war in accordance with the progress of the fundamentals of strategy, weapons and tactics which symbolised the progress of mankind.

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CHAPTER-I

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CHAPTER-II

:OGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BUNDELKHAND AND CHANDELA'S STATE BETWEEN 9th to 12th CENTURY

GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BUNDELKHAND AND CHANDELA'S STATE (Between 9th to 12th Century)

2.1 STRATEGIC LOCATION

The Bundelkhand region (24°.00'-26° 30' N and 78°10' - 81°30'E) bounded by the Yamuna in the north, escarped ranges of the Vindhyan plateau in the south, the Chambal in the north-west and Panna-Ajaigarh ranges in the south-east; is known as Bundelkhand. It comprises of four districts of Uttar Pradesh (Jalaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur and Banda) and four districts of Madhya Pradesh (Datia, Tekamgarh, Chhatarpur and Panna) together with Lahar (Bind district) and Bhander (Gwalior district) tahsils in the north-west with a total area of about 54,560Km^2. (Fig. 2.1)

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early history of Bundelkhand unfolds itself through traditions, incriptions and some records of early and medieval writers. These sources strongly suggest that the original settlers and colonizers in this region were the Gonds traces of whose socio-cultural profiles were subsequently obliterated.

The earliest information about this region dates back to the times of the sixteen MAHAJANAPADAS in the 6th century B.C., when one of the Janpadas known as CHEDI with capital at Shaktimati or Sandhivate, covered a major part of present Bundelkhand and the adjoining area. During the Magadh ascendancy the region was

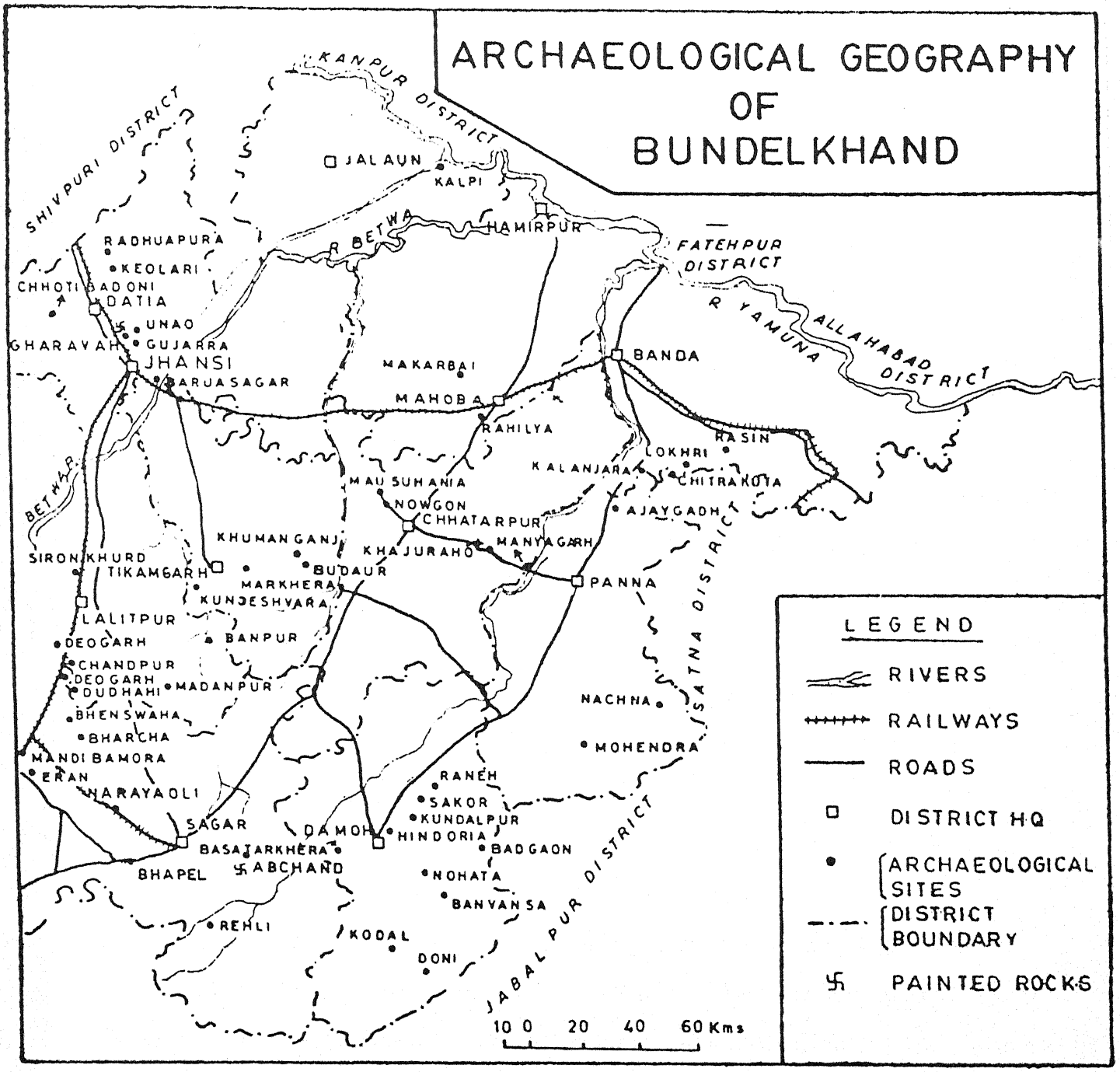

ARCHAEOLOGICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
BUNDELKHAND
KANPUR DISTRICT
SHIVPURI DISTRICT
JALAUN
KALPI
HAMIRPUR
R BETWA
FATEHPUR DISTRICT
R YAMUNA
ALLAHABAD DISTRICT
RADHUAPURA
KEOLARI
CHHOTI BADONI
DATIA
UNAO
GHARAVAH
GUJARRA
JHANSI
BARUASAGAR
MAKARBAI
MAHOBA
BANDA
RAHILYA
RASIN
OKHRI
KALANJARA
CHITRAKOTA
MAU SUHANIA
NOWGON
CHHATARPUR
AJAYGADH
BETWA
KHUMANGANJ
KHAJURAHO
MANYAGARH
SIRON KHURD
TIKAMGARH
BUDAUR
MARKHERA
PANNA
KUNDESHVARA
SATNA DISTRICT
LALITPUR
DEOGARH
BANPUR
CHANDPUR
DEOGARH
DUDHAHI
MADANPUR
NACHNA
BHENSWAHA
BHARCHA
MOHENDRA
MANDI BAMORA
ERAN
RANEH
NARAYAOLI
SAKOR
KUNDALPUR
SAGAR
DAMOH
HINDORIA
BADGAON
BASARKHERA
BHAPEL
ABCHAND
NOHATA
BANVANSA
REHLI
KODAL
DONI
JABALPUR DISTRICT
10 0 20 40 60 Kms
LEGEND
RIVERS
RAILWAYS
ROADS
DISTRICT HQ
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
PAINTED ROCKS

FIG: 2.8

annexed by the Nandas, and remained part of the Mauryas and the Shungas till the end of A.D. 300, when the Nagas established their rule with Padmavati (Modern Pawaiya) on the Betwa as their capital. Samudra Gupta is said to have usurped this area from Vyagra Raj, the ruler of Mahakautar. During much of the period this area remained forested being commonly known as JAIJAK BHUKTI. From 9th century on wards, the region came under the rule of Gurjar-Pratiharas succeeded by the Chandel Rajputs. The Chandels were good warriors and administrators. They constructed strong forts (Ajaigarh and Kalinjar), noble temples (e.g. Khajuraho) and excellent irrigation works. In the 12th century A.D. Parmal Deo, the 20th ruler in succession, fought many battles with the rulers of Ajmer and Delhi and even opposed Muhammad Ghori with a large force. Prithvi Raj Chauhan of Delhi, however defeated him. After the fall of Chauhan rule the country was exposed to anarchy and to Muslim invasions until the close of the 14th century. Then the Bundelas after whom the region is known as BUNDELKHAND appeared on the scene (Government Publication, District Gazetteers, Pt. I, 1874-86). The settled first at Man (Banda district) and then after taking Kalinjar and Kalpi made Mahoni their first capital which was shifted to orchha founded by Raja Rudra Pratap Singh in about 1531. The Bundelas not only consolidated their power but also considerably extended their kingdom over the whole region between the Yamuna in the north and the Narmada in the south. However, Bir Singh Deo, the great-grandson of the Rudra Pratap was compelled to acknowledge himself

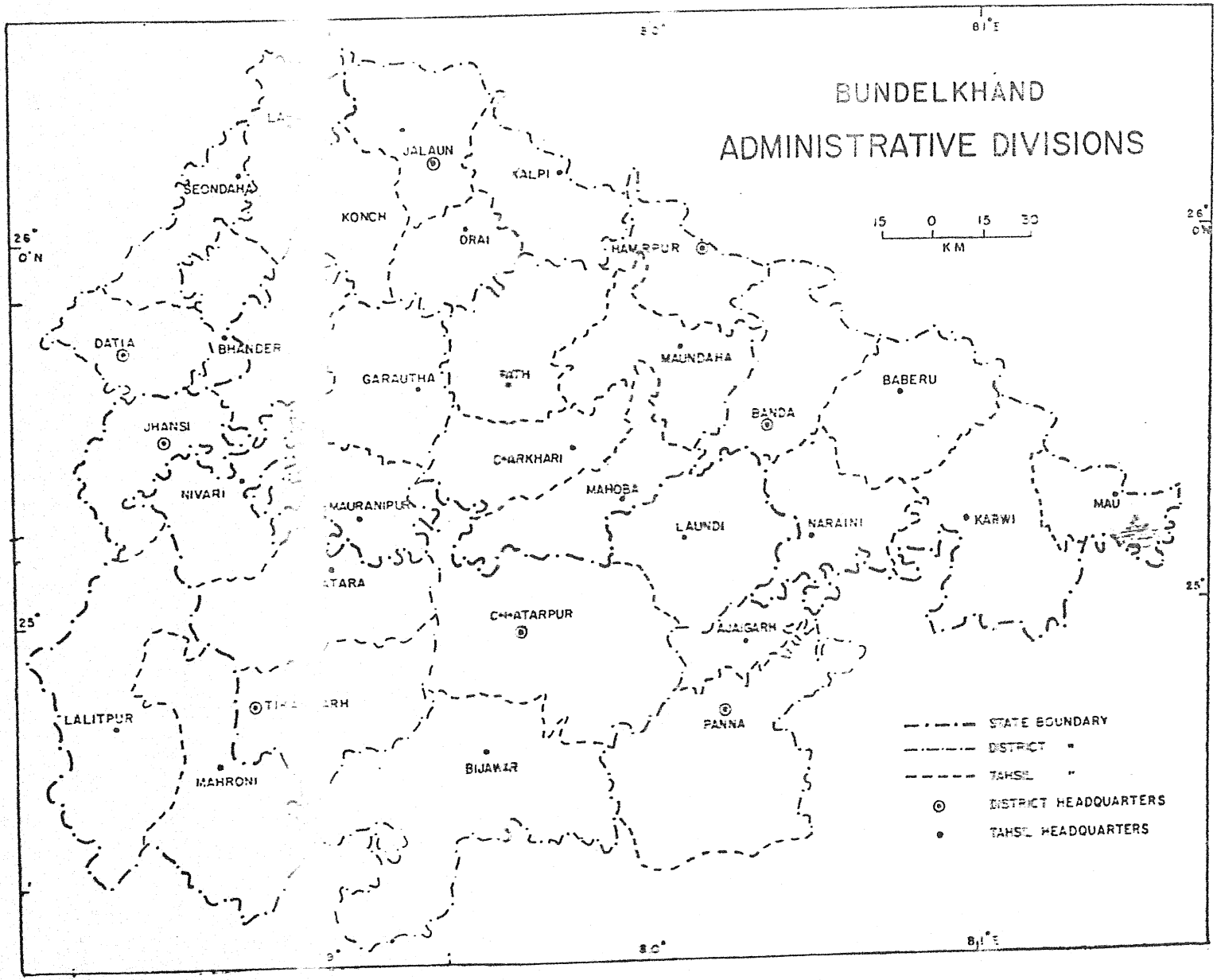

BUNDELKHAND
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
15 0 15 30
KM
JALAUN
KALPI
SEONDAHA
KONCH
ORAI
HAMIRPUR
DATIA
BHANDER
GARAUTHA
MAUDAHA
BABERU
BANDA
JHANSI
CHARKHARI
NIVARI
MAHOBA
MAURANIPUR
LAUNDI
NARAINI
KARWI
MAU
CHHATARPUR
AJAIGARH
LALITPUR
PANNA
MAHRONI
BIJAWAR
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT "
TAHSIL "
DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
TAHSIL HEADQUARTERS

Fig. 2.1

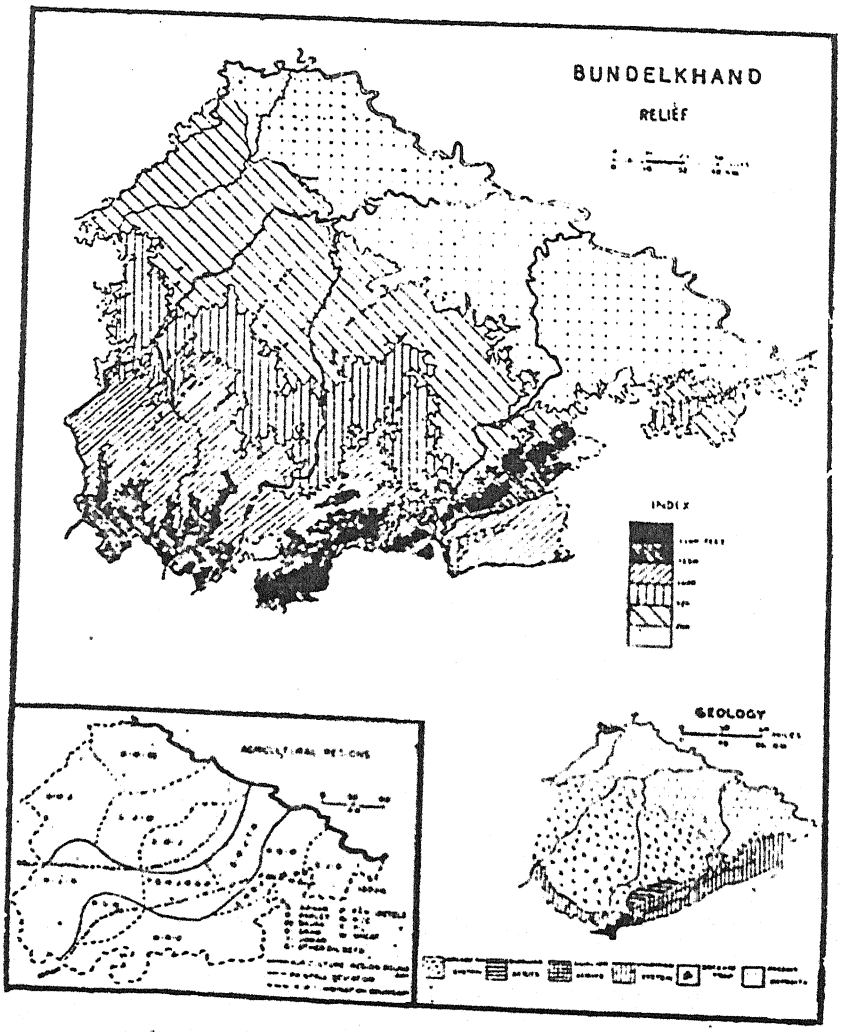


Fig. 2.3.4 2.3

as a vassal of the Moghal empire, but Champat Rai, another Bundela chief, held out in the rugged country of Betwa ravines and harassed the Moghul rulers. The guerrilla warfare waged by small contingents of the Bundela soldiers never allowed the mighty Moghuls to get a firm foot-hold in the region. The Moghuls, however, continued to enjoy a kind of suzerainty in the region. The success of the Bundela soldiers over large armies was largely due to their familiarity with the terrain (ravines). The Bundelas also controlled the strategic routes to the Deccan passing through this region.

The great Bundela chief, Chhatrasal, who figures so high in the regional folk-lores, was a worthy son of a worthy father, Champat Rai. He ravaged the country held by his enemies in every direction. Later, he was so much pressed by the Bangash Pathan chief of Farrukhabad that he had to seek help of Peshwa in 1734 to defeat him (Govt. Publication: 1908). The Maratha chief got 1/3 of his territory (Jhansi and Jalaun). Jhansi was wrested by the Peshwa (D.L. Brockman: 1909) from the Raja of Orchha and entrusted to a 'Subedar'. The great Rani of Jhansi Laxmibai, was the wife of Raja Gangadhar Rao, one of the descendants of this family. She has been credited as being the first freedom-fighter of Indian Independence and to have raised arms against the British. In declining days of the Bundelas, the southern Bundelkhand became fragmented into large number of petty states under the overall charge of the central India Agency.

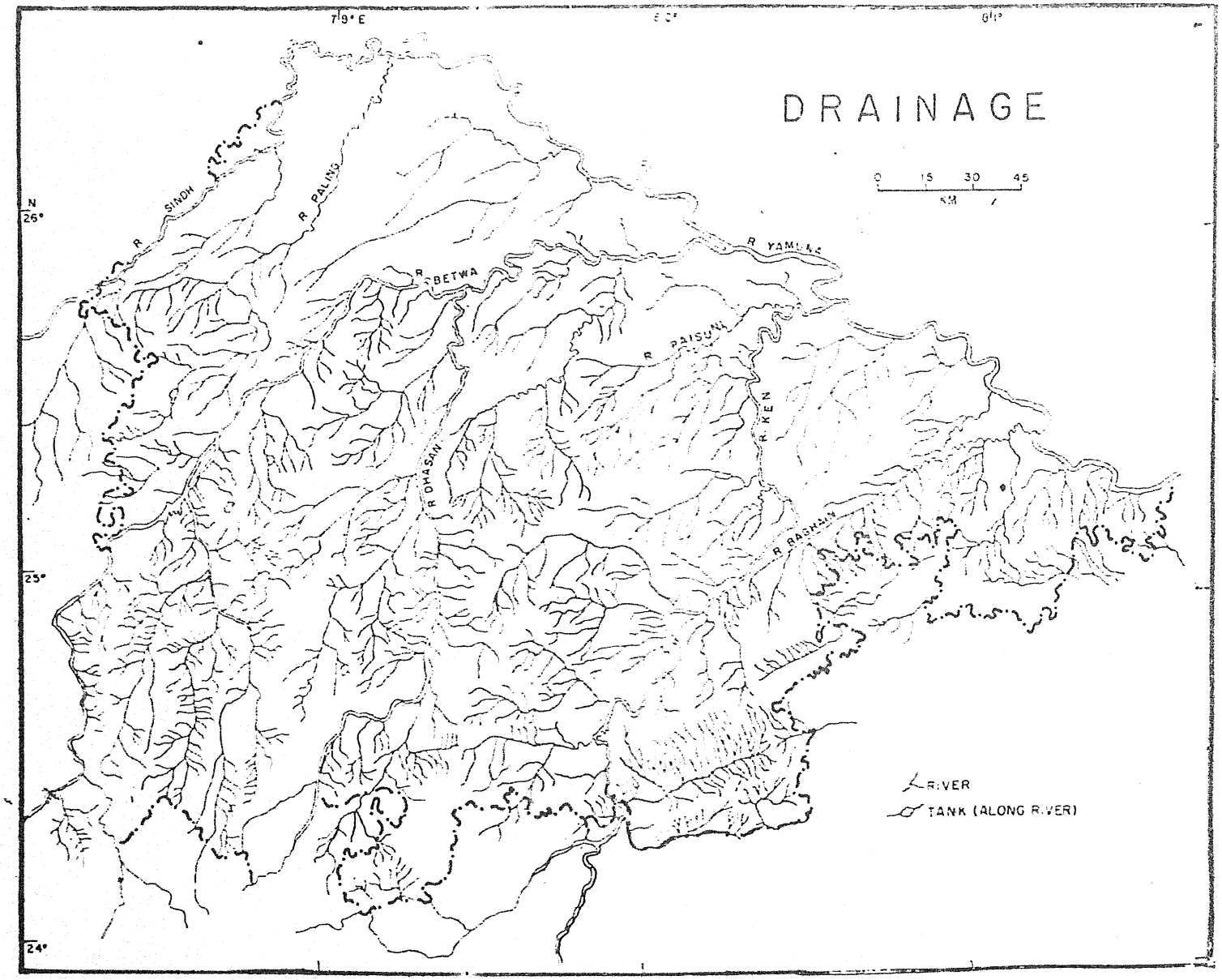

DRAINAGE
0 15 30 45
KM
79° E
80°
81°
N
26°
25°
24°
R SINDH
R PALING
R BETWA
R YAMUNA
R PAISUNI
R KEN
R DHASAN
R RAGHAN
RIVER
TANK (ALONG RIVER)

Fig. 2.1

It may, thus, be seen that from the beginning of the 13th to the end of the 18th century. Bundelkhand was virtually a cock-pit of constant warfare amongst the regional powers- the Bundela rulers the Marathas and the Rohillas. The desolating effect of purely predatory warfare was that agriculture was totally neglected and scarcities and famines occasionally depened the crisis. Chandels, no doubt, had earlier done a great humanitarian job by constructing a large number of tanks but efforts for the stabilization of economy were made with the restoration of order and construction of canals by the British in some areas. The regional economy has been further strenghtened by the various projects and land reform measures since Independence.

2.3 THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF BUNDELKHAND

2.3.1 Geology: Four main geological systems represented in Bundelkhand are: (Fig. 2.2)

(i) The Archean system
(ii) Transitional system
(iii) The Vindhyan system
(iv) The Recent Deposits

(i) The Archean System is represented by massif Bundelkhand which is largely composed of crystalline igneous and metamorphic rocks. In geological literature the typical rock of this region is popularly termed as 'Bundelkhand Gneiss' which is a misnomer. In fact, granite and gneiss

are both conspicuous in which the former prodominates. The origin of massif Bundelkhand is not yet clearly understood as the question of its evolution is inextricably linked up withthe very origin of granite over which there is a great controversy as present (H.H. Read: 1967). M.N. Saxena (1960) believes that Bundelkhand granites were formed in the process of replacement of non-igneous matter, crystal by crystal, by hydro-thermal effects and not by magnatic emplacement. According to him the so called "Black Xenoliths" of Kabrai are (Hamirpur district) contain a complete sequence of granatisation and support his views. Jhingaran (Jhingaran, A.C.: 1970) however, suggests that the best solution of this riddle probably lies in accepting the granites of Bundelkhand as having been formed in both the manners. That way the massif can be considered as truly complex V.S. Dubey (1960) assigns an age of 2,300 million years to the regional granites. They are pre-Dharwarian and are next to or even contemporaneous with the oldest Aravalli schists.

Based on texture and composition several types of granite can be recognised in Bundelkhand. Of these the pink fedsparic coarse-grained variety is the most dominant in distribution and massive in character but gray varieties with variable texture are also present. Gneisses are next only to granites in importance. They very form medium to coarse-grained varieties and lack any fixed pattern in their distribution. The gneisses of kabro area are hybrid whereas that of western periphery are bedded ones; which had been subjected to powerful external forces from the

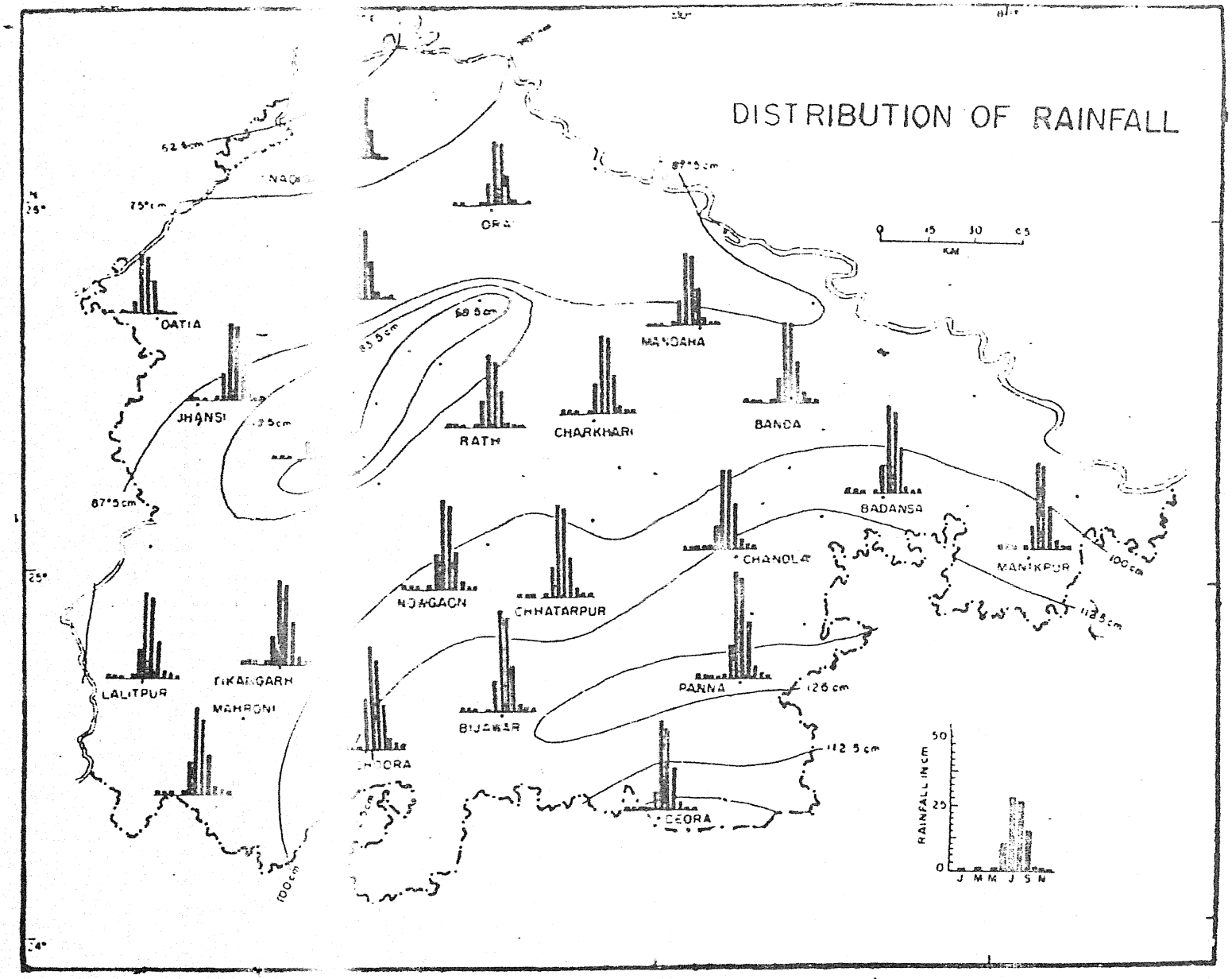

DISTRIBUTION OF RAINFALL
DATIA
JHANSI
LALITPUR
MAHRONI
ORAI
RATH
CHARKHARI
MAHOBA
BANDA
BADANSA
CHANDLA
MANIKPUR
NOWGAON
CHHATARPUR
PANNA
BIJAWAR
CHHORA
CEORA
87·5 cm
100 cm
112·5 cm
126 cm
KM
RAINFALL IN cm
J M M J S N

Fig. 2.5

wasterly direction and are hence slightly folded are largely fractured.

(ii) Gwallor series appearing in the northern part of Datia district and Bijawar series in Bijawar tahsil of Chhatarpur district are often referred to as transitional systems having been formed in the post-Aravalli or pre-Vindhyan period. Both of these series represent sedimentary strata of sands-tones and limestones in which lava intrusions had later penetrated. Bijawars present a controted arrangement of very hard and soft rocks and are chiefly composed of massive quartzite sandstone and granitic sandstones (H.B. Medllicot: 1860).

(iii) The Vindhyan system forms a girdle around Bundelkhand granites in a semi-circular fashion except in the north. In the region, the Vindhyan system forms a series of posing escarpments of massive sandstone and limestone, which were originally deposited in a shallow but extensive basin. As a result of isostatic adjustment in the southern part, and tectonic movements in the western part, massive escarpments of the Vindhyan sediments rose upto some what isolate the country of Bundelkhand from the south and south-west. No wonder, therefore that these escarpments became the traditional socio-cultural boundary between north and south India and played an exceedingly important role inshaping the nations history (J.P. Saxena: 1960).

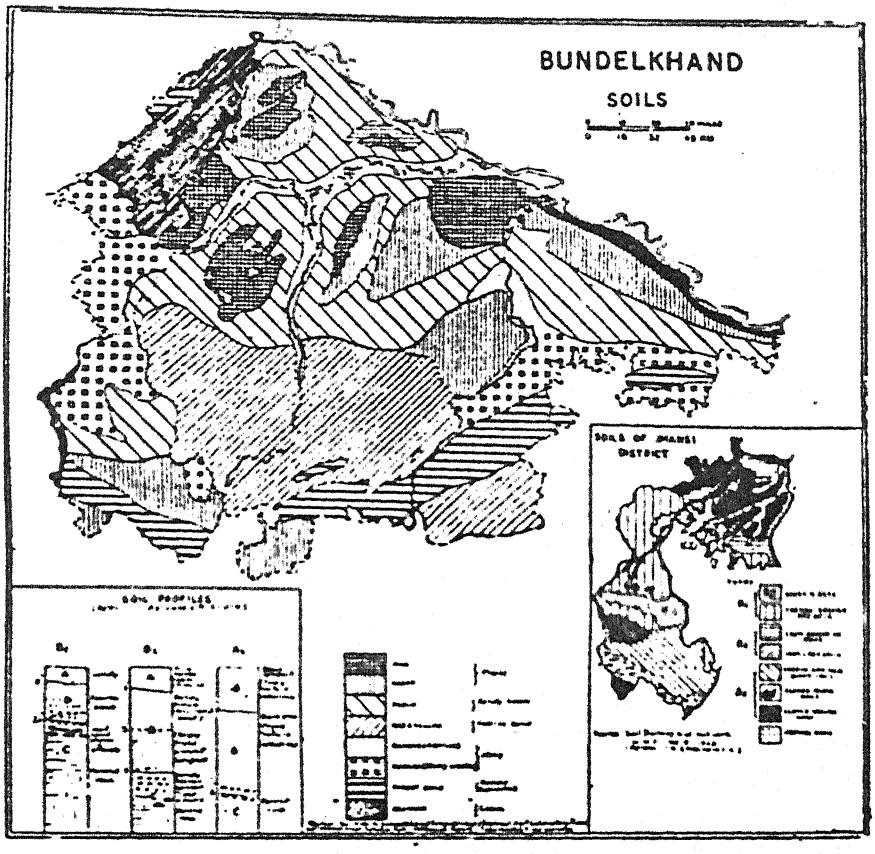


Fig. 2

In Bundelkhand, it is chiefly the lower Vindhyans which are found in the form of Bhander, Rewa and Kaimur series and while shales are best developed in the centre, sandstones are exposed along the borders. In the north-west and north-east the system is covered by Ganga-Yamuna alluvium and in the south-west by Deccan trap. Upper Vindhyans were profusely intruded by lava dykes and sills.

(iv) Recent deposits in Bundelkhand are represented by large scale alluvial deposits in the form of an 'embayment' into the granite country. The alluvial sediments are of pluvialite and subaerial formations of sand, silt and clay. The texture of the deposits becomes more and more refined as we proceed towards river Yamuna from south-central granite country. In the south the surface is strewn with granite boulders and stony wastes (Fig. 2.2)

2.3:II: Relief: The keynote of Bundelkhand topography is its smooth and undulating character to which spate gives the term 'senile topography (O.H.K. Spate: 1954). With the exception of southern marginal areas; which still retain the features of a disected plateau, the entire region is marked by subdued topography that tends to grade into a perfect level plain towards north. The hypsometric curve of the region shows that about 67.7% of the area is under 300m and only 3.6% is above 450m, the rest is between 300 and 450m.

The northern 1/3 of the plain area is monotonously flat and stands in strong contrast with the Vindhyan table land which

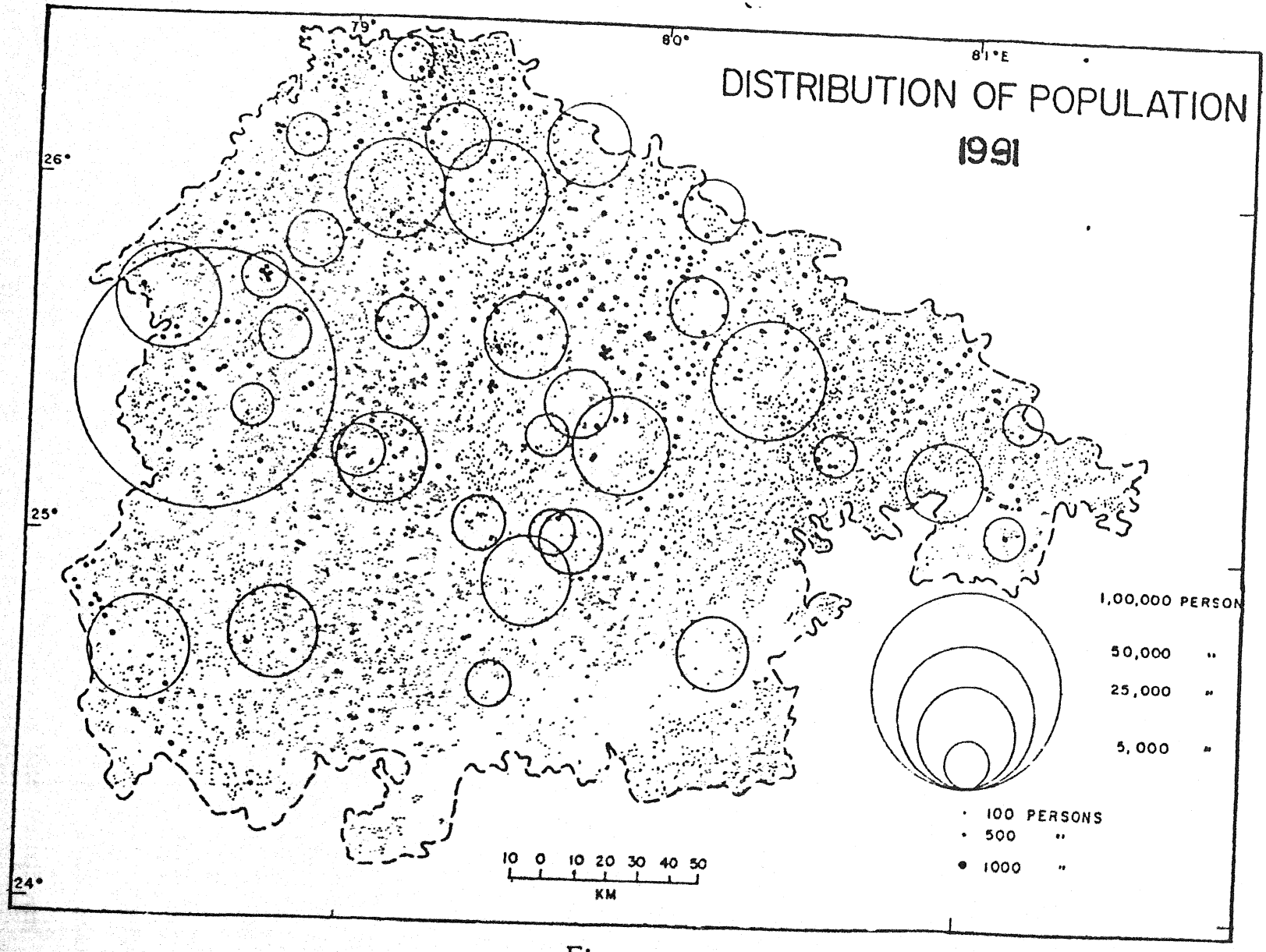
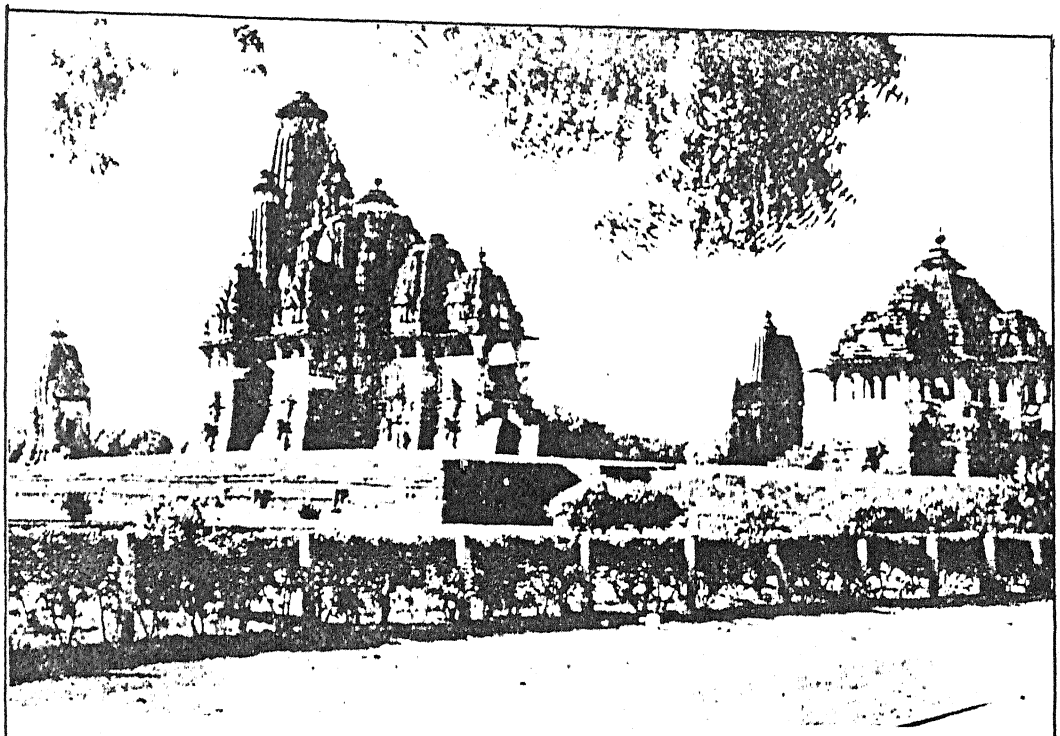

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
1991
79°
80°
81°E
26°
25°
24°
1,00,000 PERSON
50,000 "
25,000 "
5,000 "
100 PERSONS
500 "
1000 "
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
KM

Fig. 2.7

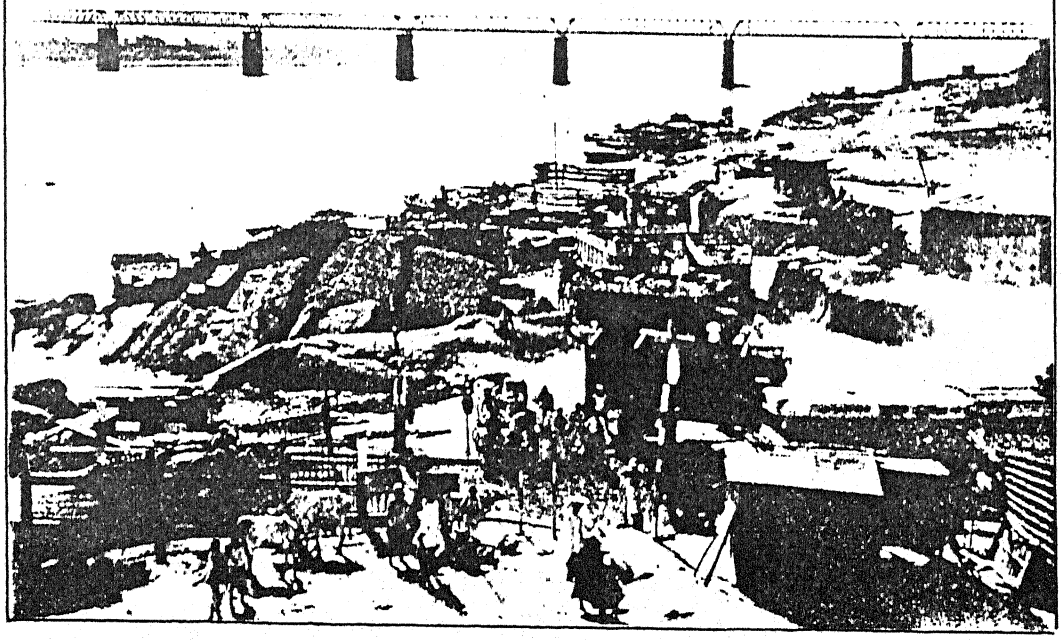
rises in three well-marked escarpments roughly delineated by 300, 375 and 450m. contours. The south-central granite country forming as it were the nucleus and providing the basement for the entire structural build to the region, varies in elevation from 300 to 366m. It shows everywhere gently undubting surface with occasionally flat-topped hills of smooth sky-line as relics of peneplamated surfaces. The monotomy of low relief of the granite country is frequently broken by quartz reefs and dolerite dykes surrounded by plethora of foulders dislodged from them.

The main streams of the region; namely the Betwa, the Dhasan and the Ken with their affluents have everywhere, specially in the south, carved out steep gorges and precipitous rocky banks and often descend through magnificent water-falls, some of these being 60m. high. On entering the alluvial plain in the north, these streams engage themselves in active erosion on a very large scale to form some of the most extensive and fantastic ravine lands.

Vindhyachal range, the average elevation of which never exceeds 600m, actually begins from Seondha tahsil of Datia district in the north-west and approaches Narwar due south. From Narwar it turns south-east and further north-east to reach erstwhile Ajaigarh and Kalinjar states. The tableland, which lies behind this escapment is 16 to 20km. broad and may be termed as Bijawar-Panna plateau because of its maximum expansion in that area. Geologically, it includes Gwaliors, Bajawars and Vindhyan



The famous Khajuraho Temples



River Yamuna at Kalpi : this bridge gives Kalpi the privilege of being called "the Gateway of Bundelkhand"

FIG: 2.8

sandstones with lava intrusions, as such, it has resulted in the excavation of intricate and irregular valleys of which shading on the map gives no idea. The common rocks are sandstones, limestone and shales which all change their characteristics with the change in their strikes.

In the west, the Vindhyachal range is very narrow and cut-up into isolated hills. The Vindhyachal extends to Lalitpur tahsil near Deogary where the Betwa has cut through a magnificent gorge. As elsewhere; the plateau in Bijawar and Panna district is also marked by bevelled summits and steep valleys. Panna and Ajaigarh ranges "are mere prominences left standing while the surrounding parts have disappeared in the prolonged denudation which these regions have undergone (D.N. Wadia: 1961).

The Bijawar-Panna plateau terminates abruptly beyond the northward facing scarp of Vindhyachal and Panna ranges. Further north-west lies a verst country of granites and geneisses cogering mostly the area of Jhansi, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur and southern margins of Banda and Hamirpur districts. Sub-aerial denudation has reduced the granite country into an undulating source of moderate relief with characteristics of late mature landscape. The peculiar features of immense geomorphic interest in this region are the long narrow serrated ridges termed as quartz reefes and dolerite dykes. The former are made of cherty material of quartz mixed with microline, perthite and feldspar. They are made of compact and weather-resistant material which has been

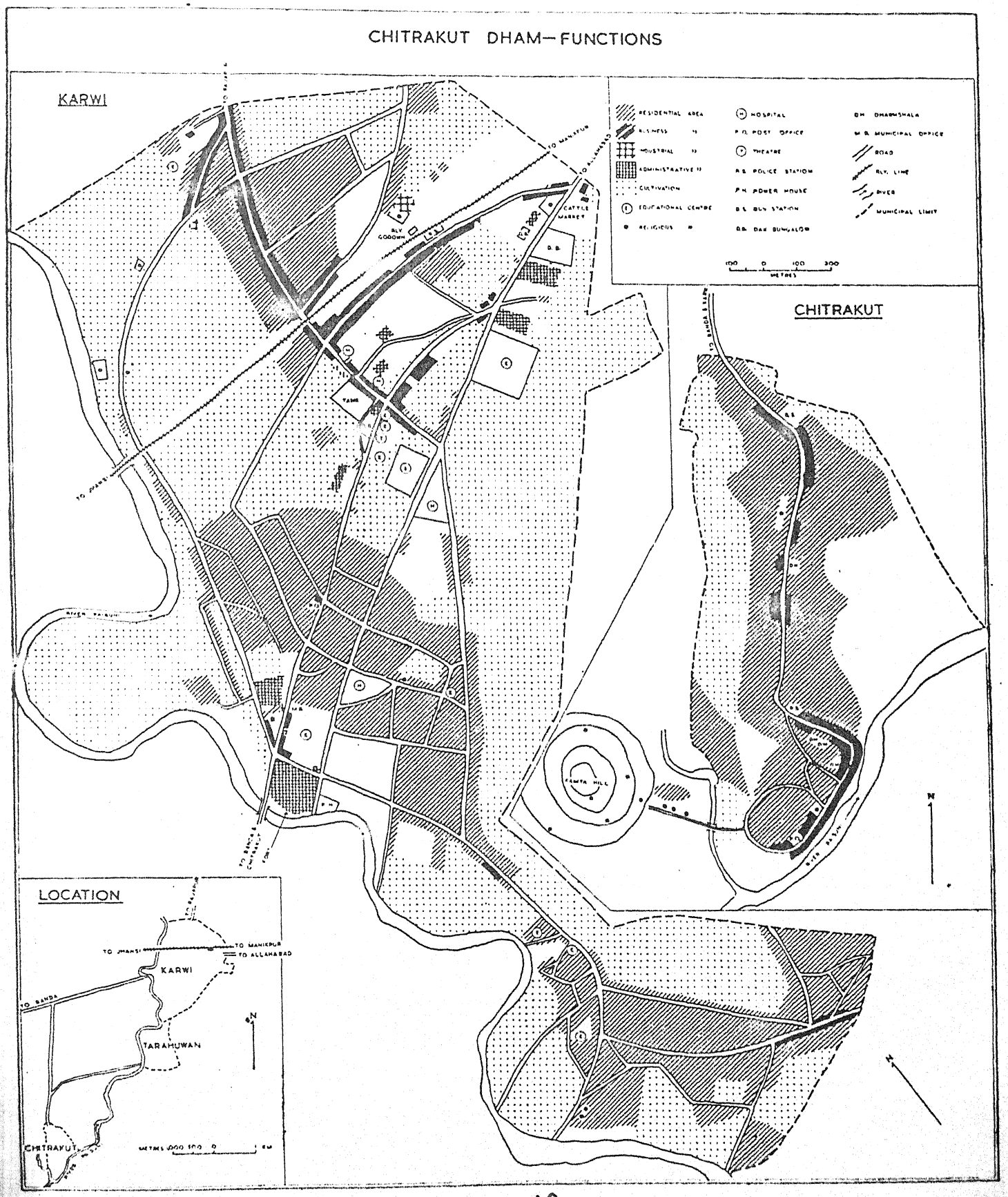

CHITRAKUT DHAM—FUNCTIONS
KARWI
CHITRAKUT
LOCATION
KARWI
TARAHUWAN
CHITRAKUT
TO JHANSI
TO MANIKPUR
TO ALLAHABAD
TO BANDA
RESIDENTIAL AREA
BUSINESS "
INDUSTRIAL "
ADMINISTRATIVE "
CULTIVATION
EDUCATIONAL CENTRE
RELIGIOUS "
HOSPITAL
P.O. POST OFFICE
THEATRE
P.S. POLICE STATION
P.H. POWER HOUSE
R.S. RLY. STATION
D.B. DAK BUNGALOW
DH DHARMSHALA
M.B. MUNICIPAL OFFICE
ROAD
RLY. LINE
RIVER
MUNICIPAL LIMIT
METRES
CATTLE MARKET
RLY GOODWN
KAMTA HILL
RIVER PAISUNI
N

Fig. 2·9

further strengthened by hydro-thermal metamorphism and by filling-up of joints by subsequent intrusive materials. Quartz reefs are very conservatives like fort walls. They have frequently intercepted the courses of regional streams; and thereby have provided suitable sites for large number of water bodies and semi artificial tanks giving relatively greater security to agriculture.

Bundelkhand plain; also known as trans-Yamuna plain, is made of the soft and unconsolidated materials brought down by the tributaries of Yamuna, Chambal, Betwa and Ken. These deposits extend upon the granite surface for about 110Km. along 80°E longitude. Its agerage elevation is below 150m. Topographically the whole plain is divisible into three- east-west running belts of varying width. The southern belt is typically a transitional area, roughly marked by Chirgaon-Garautha-Rath-Matand-Banda line, north of which surface boulders are absent while in the south their preponderance is significant. The central belt with imperfect drainage extends to the southern bank of the Yamuna. The third belt, the narrowest of the three, is confined along the banks of the Yamuna in the form of 'high ground' which represents the level of the ancient flood plains but which at present is badly cut up into deep ravines. Such ravines also extend along the tributary streams of the Yamuna. (Fig. 2.3)

2.3:III: Drainage: Bundelkhand is drained by the Yamuna system (Yamuna is the biggest stream and the Betwa, Ken and Baghain are

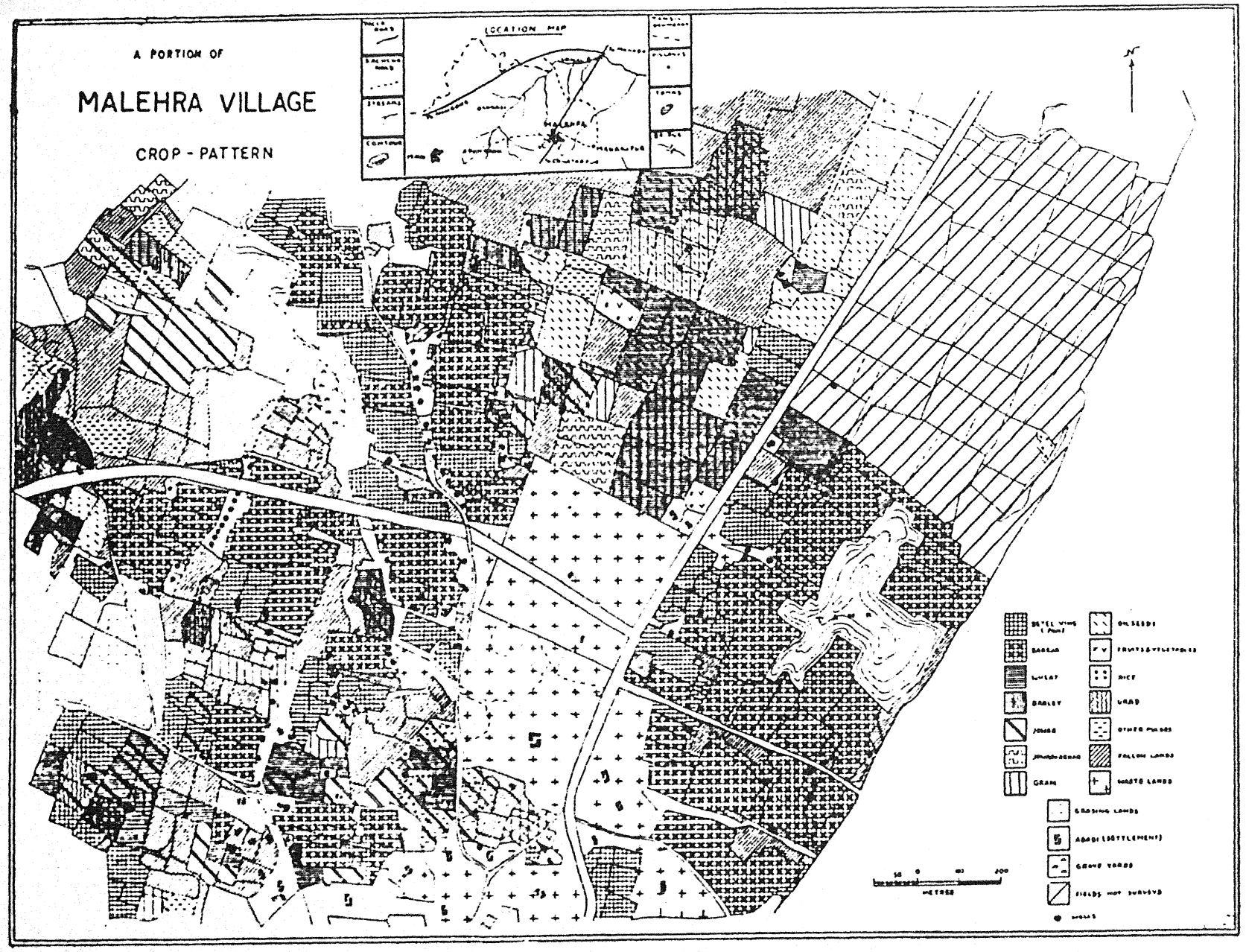


Fig. 2·51

its main tributaries; Dhasan is a tributary of river Betwa. These streams are fed by innumerable seasonal torrents. The southern bank of the Yamuna, being 15 to 45m. high does not permit the diversion of its natural flow southwards and as such more important than Yamuna are the Betwa, Ken, Pahuj and Dhasan streams for irrigation in the region. The average annual discharge of river Betwa is about 815,000 cusecs and that of river Ken is only 800 cusecs but their seasonal fluctuations are abnormal, e.g. the discharge of river Ken in winter is reduced to only 300 cusecs and in way it dwindles to practically nothing such fluctuations undermine the security of irrigation.

The well-known waterbodies of Bundelkhand are Pahuj reservoir, Barwa Sagar, Barwar lake, Diaorilake, Pachawar lake, Dakwan and Parichha- reservoirs, Arhar tal, Manikpur tal, Majhgawan tal, Bela tal, Raipura Sagar and a host of other tanks around Mahoba. In Takamgarh, the famous tanks are Madan Sagar, Nandwara, Bir sagar and Arjar lake. In Chhatarpur district, Jagat sagar, Gora tal and Gangan reservoir are well-known. Matatila, Lalitpur and Saprar are new reservoirs constructed in the post-Indepndence period (Fig. 2.8).

2.3:IV: <u>Climate</u>: Centrality of the region imposes on it the features of a transitional climate between the maritime climate of the east coast (Bay of Bengal) and the tropical continental dry type of climate of the west (Rajasthan).

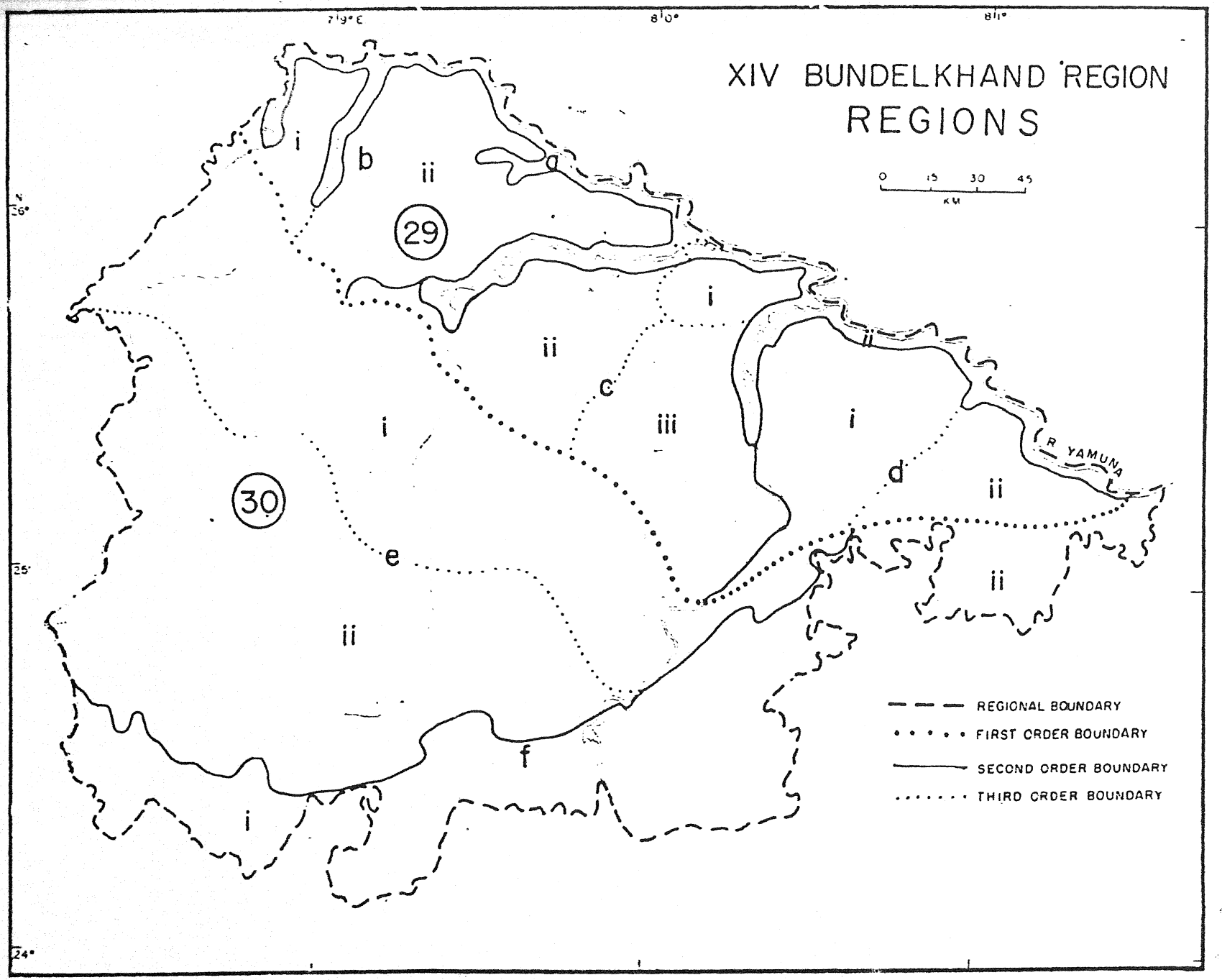

XIV BUNDELKHAND REGION
REGIONS
0 15 30 45
KM
29
30
i
b
ii
a
i
ii
c
iii
i
d
ii
e
ii
i
ii
f
R YAMUNA
REGIONAL BOUNDARY
FIRST ORDER BOUNDARY
SECOND ORDER BOUNDARY
THIRD ORDER BOUNDARY

Fig. 2.52

The average annual temperatures of Bundelkhand are uniformly high (over 25°C). The mean annual temperature of Orai is 22.5°C, that of Jhansi 26.5°C but their mean montly values considerably vary form their annual means and consequently their ranges are high (17.5° to 21.5°c).

The mean annual precipitation varies from 75cm. in the north-west toabout 125cm. in the south-east; the average may be taken as 100cm. of which 90% falls between June to September. Some shallow westerly depressions cause some winter precipitation.

The mean seasonal temperature is summer varies from 29.5°c to 32.0'c but actual temperatures are much higher and mercury often records 38.0°c or more when heat becomes oppressive accompanied by scorching winds. District Banda often registers the largest number of sunstrokes every year probably owing to intenseter restrial radiation and lack of haziness in the sky, being away from the source regions of dust storms in the west. Nights are also not with temperature seldom going below 15.5°c. Local storms often give the region one or two pre-monsoon showeers followed by lightning and hail and cause damage to the harvest in March and April. Relative humidity during summer varies from 30 to 40%. (Fig. 2.5)

With the advent of summer monsoon by the middle of June, regional temperatures fall abruptly by 5.5°c giving a sense of general relief. The mean seasonal temperatures during rainy season are between 22°c and 25°c with relative humidity varying

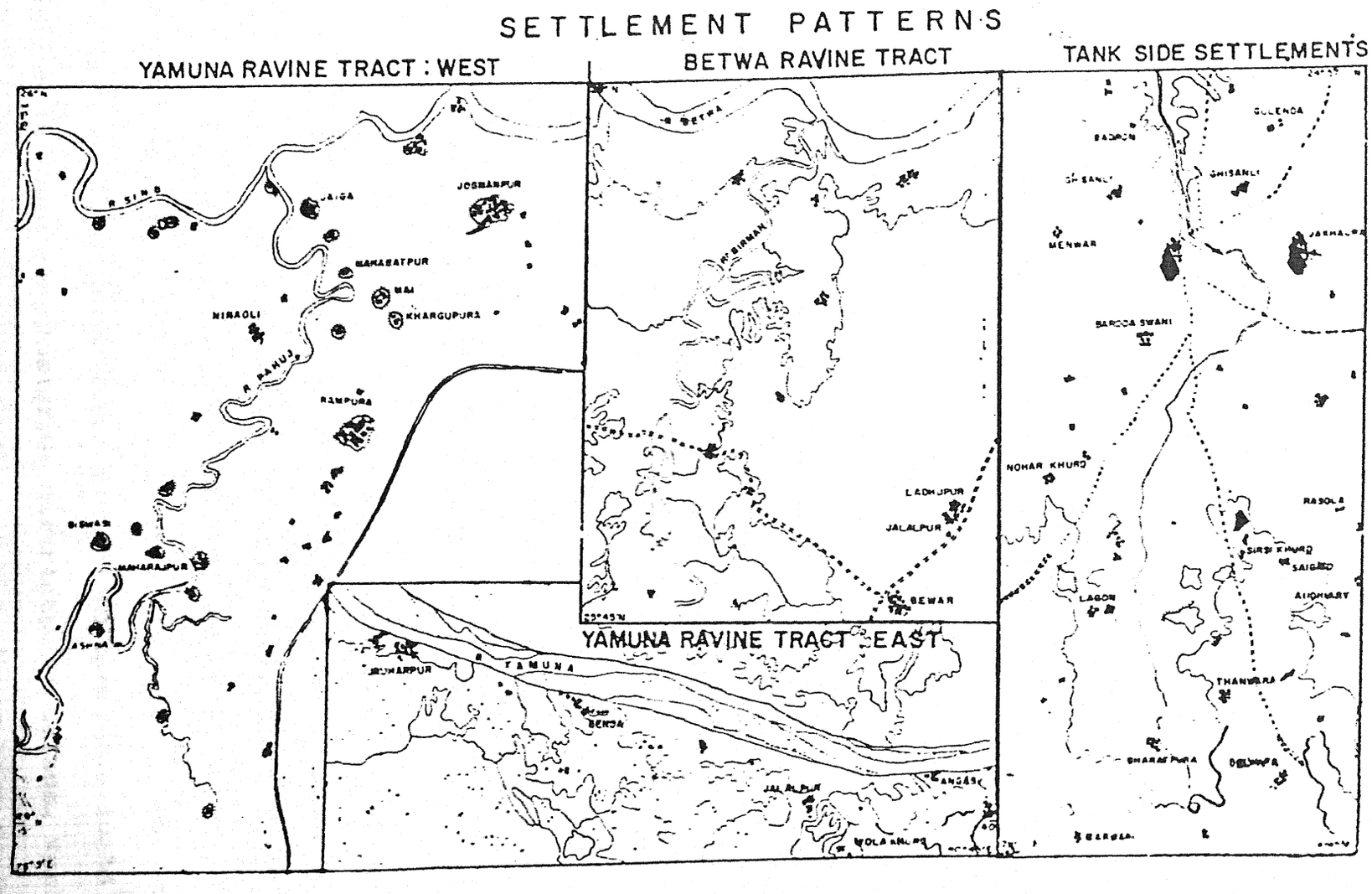

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS
YAMUNA RAVINE TRACT : WEST
BETWA RAVINE TRACT
TANK SIDE SETTLEMENTS
YAMUNA RAVINE TRACT : EAST
R. SIND
R. BETWA
R. BIRMAN
R. RAHUJ
R. YAMUNA
JOGRANPUR
NIRAOLI
KHARGUPURA
RAMPURA
BISWAS
MAHARAJPUR
LADKHUR
JALALPUR
BEWAR
MUHARPUR
BENDA
MENWAR
BARODA SWANI
NOHAR KHURD
LAGON
RASOLA
SIRSI KHURD
SAIGAO
AHOMARY
THANWARA
BHARATPURA
DELHIPRA
BEERORA

Fig. 2.13

from 70 to 80% so that the typical weather during July and August is muggy and sultry. July and August are usually the rainiest months each with about 30cm. of rain followed by September (15.5cm.). Thus about 75cm. or (75%) of regional precipitation is concentrated in three months only, but the monthly budget is highly variable and copricious. It is this uncertainty which is notoriously responsible for a large number of famines, scarcities and deluges which have been the lot of the region since times immemorial.

From October onward to February the weather gradually crystallises into a pleasant and invigorating winter season with average temperatures varying from 16.5°c to 21.0°c. Nights are frequently chilly and frosts occur specially when cold wave sweeps the region from west or north-west. The winter rains are beneficial to the rabi crops. From April onward the weather rapidly becomes warmer, and hot and dry season finally sets in.

2.3:V: Natural Vegetation: Bundelkhand, anecologically degraded region, has an estimated area of 0.64 million hectares under forest (7.2%) (NCAER:1965). Teak is found in small Patches, Dhak, Semal, Salai, and Babul are the principal types of acacias. Khair is a common tree but not much utilized. Hingota, Karondha and Kareel are mostly utilised forgrazing Tendu trees are found in abundance in Panna and Chhatarpur districts. In Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda districts the original cover has almost been removed to make room for cultivation.

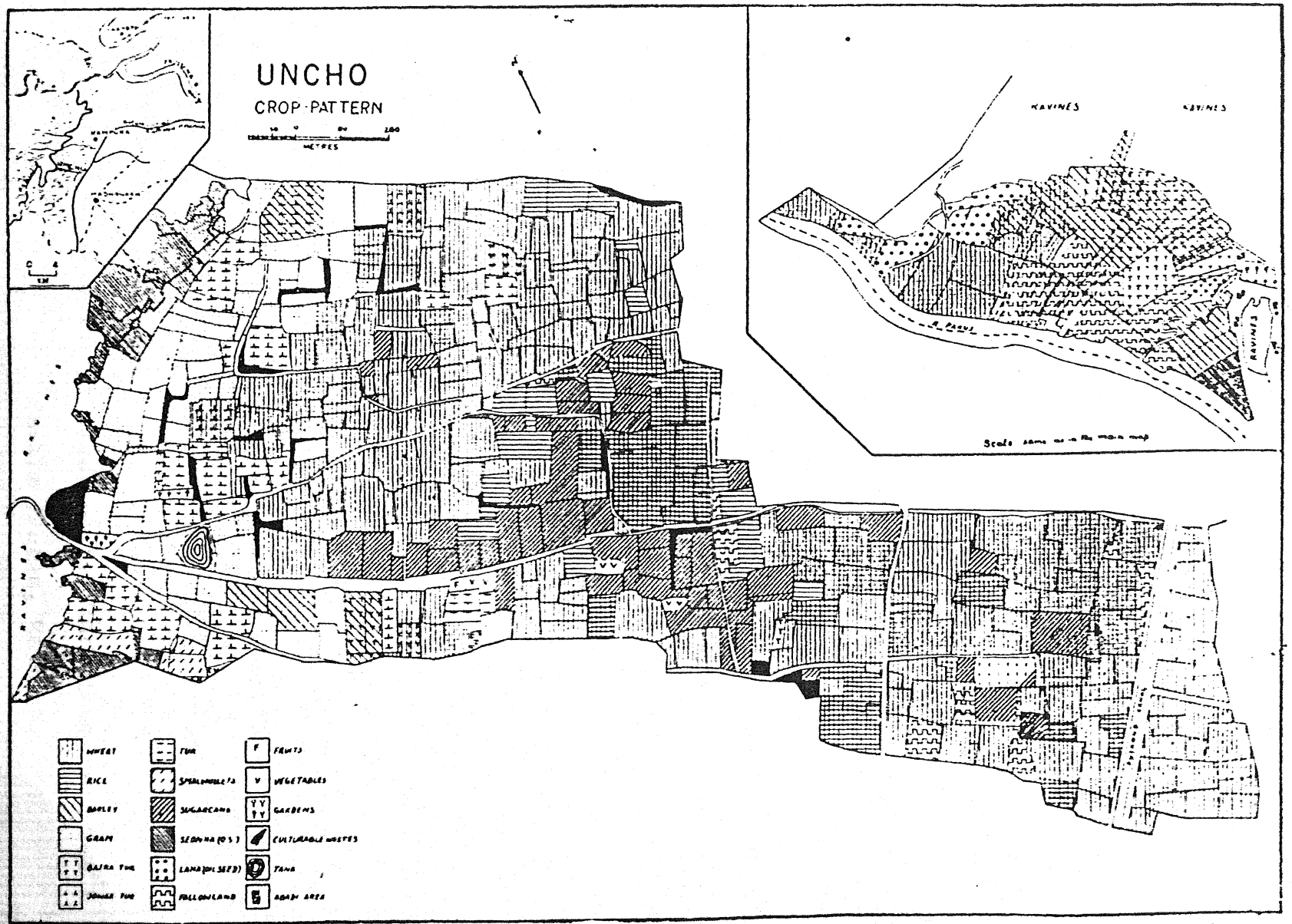

UNCHO
CROP-PATTERN
METRES
RAVINES
RAVINES
RAVINES
RAVINES
A. PARVI
WHEAT
RICE
BARLEY
GRAM
TWR
SUGARCANE
FRUITS
VEGETABLES
GARDENS
FALLOWLAND
FARM

Fig 2.[illegible]

Scrubs and grasses represent the secondary growth throughout the region. They are specially extensive in western parts of Jalaun, Datia and Jhansi owing to dry climate the stony, surface, grasses of various kinds such as murel, uara, gunaa, karta, pasai, dula, kans, dakh, and gandar etc., grow profusely in the rainy season. Of these musel, ukra and gunar are useful for animals but unfortunately they all grow on black soils.

Kans is one of the most pernicious perennial weeds difficult to eradicate. Some of the best known grasses of Bundelkhand grow over eastern hills. Famous Kalingar grasses are leased out annually and supplied to military centres. There are also military grass farms near Bairagarh and Jhansi and an average of 25,926 quintals of hay is annually cut from these reserves. It is needless to emphasize the significance of the forests and grasslands in providing fodder for cattle, and as such, the Indian grass land and fodder research Institute has been set up at Jhansi.

2.3:VI: <u>Soils</u>: Bundelkhand soil may be conveniently grouped into the following categories. (Fig. 2.6)

(i) Upland soils: (Rocky soils)

(ii) Low land soils: Black soils (Mar,Kabar) and Red & Yellow soils (Parua, Rankar).

(iii) Riverine soils: Kachhar and Tari.

The soils of the district were classified into three main genetic types denoted as:

(i) Bundelkhand type-1

(ii) Bundelkhand type-2

(iii) Bundelkhand type-3

2.3:VII: Minerals: Diamondiferous bed in Panna district lies between the Rewa and the upper Vindhyan series and upon the Kaimur standstone. At the time of Vredenburg's survey there were 36 localities producing diamonds out of which 24 where in Panna state (96Km X 16Km.). At present the valcanic pipe at Majhgawan in the only source of diamond, the annual yield being about 30,000 carats and being highly variable. The estimated reserve is about 4.62 million carats (Times of India, Directory and Yearbook: 1968).

Bundelkhand is, however, rich in building stones such as granite, sandstone and shale. Numerous forts and fortresses made of these stones testify to their usefulness for structural and monumental purposes, but they are so heavy as the discourage distant transportation, hence locally used.

The iron pockets, associated with the Gwaliors and Bijawars and which were once exploited by Bundela chiefs for their armament, are now exhausted and mining is abandoned. Agates of great beauty and variety are found in the bed of the Ken, known as Banda stone (D.L.Brockman: 1903).

2.4 THE CULTURAL SETTING

2.4:1: Population: The earlier pattern of population distribution in Bundelkhand is still discernible on the map which shows that people are more or less evenly distributed in the northern plain ever since its occupance but in the outh distribution remains patchy in character as the people here rigidly cling to favourable localities only as a consequence of dissected relief and impoverished soil. (Fig. 2.7)

In Bundelkhand, comparatively higher densities of Jalaun Hamirpur and Banda are the result of early settlement and richer soil resources. Measures such as irrigation, improved crop combination and drainage improvement have all helped in increasing agricultural potentials and permitted more and more absorption of people than it could be otherwise possible. Of all the units of the region, Jhansi tahsil stands out for its high density owing to the presence of Jhansi city which is incidentally the most important and the only urban centre of consequence in the whole region.

2.4:1:a: Qualitative Attributes of Regional Population: A study of the age groups of population suggests that 32.4% of the total population belongs to the age group, 15 to 34 years, and it constitutes 50% of the working class, specially agriculturists and agricultural labourers. Children below 15 years from 40% of the total population and 6.6% of the total labour force. The

people of the age group 35 to 59 years account for 22% of the total population and 57% of the total working force. A very small percentage of the population is 60 years and over in age.

The workers as a whole constitute about 46.4% of the total population. About 31.1% of the people are cultivators followed by agricultural labourers constituting 5.3% of the total working force. The remaining are spread over other sectors of the economy. These figures, therefore, clearly suggest that the employment avenues are not diversified and even agriculture is over-burdened.

Bundelkhand, with 89% of the people living in villages, is overwhelmingly rural in character. Even the bulk of people living in the towns are basically rural in out-look and life. The highest urban population in Jhansi district is owing to the presence of Jhansi group of towns followed by Datia, Jalaun, Chhatarpur and Takamgarh. Low percentage of urban population in the region reflects the character of its undeveloped industrial economy.

2.4:2 Settlements: Historical evidences strongly suggest that the systematic colonization of this region started only after the rise of the Chandel Rajputs about A.D. 1100. Previous to that it was settled in isolated patches by certain tribes such as Gonds, Kushwahas etc. The population was confined to either forest clearings or along the main routes of movement. The region

was subjected to three pronged penetration by the people from outside. Probably trans-Yamuna region in the north was the first to gravitate people from the Ganga plain. Kalpi being founded between A.D. 330 to 400; (J.P. Saxena: 1968) and the waves of immigrants progressively moved south ward. Then the people coming from north east to south-west with centres at Mahoba and Narwar respectively moved in forests were indiscriminately cleared for cultivation and with growing pressure of population the use of the resources could not be properly adjusted to the demand.

The people of the Bundelkhand largely dwell in villages, majority of which are small in size and monofunctional in character. They represent a group of mud-houses huddled together in a more or less compact area situated in the midst of the fields. The farmstead type of settlement is entirely absent. There is obviously little link between the houses of the individual cultivator and the fields he tills.

Villages of the districts of Jhansi division are of varying shapes and sizes. The inter-village distance are greater here than in the Ganga plain. Clusters of houses are perched on elevated sites, the substantial nature of which often lends an air of solidarity and strength. Villages, situated on hillocks, present a fort like appearance. In areas intersected by streams; dispersed types of small clusters are found (W.W. Hunter: 1886).

In the region as a whole there are about one lacks inhabited villages of varying sizes ranging from less than 200 persons to 10,000 persons or more. It is significant to note that over three-fourths of the regional population is lodged in villages with 200 to 2000 persons. Villages having less than 500 people are specially numerous in southern part of the region where dissected relief and unproductive soils favour dispersion of dwellings as well as the settlements. There are, on an average 97 persons per Km^2, 1 X 5 villages per Km^2, 650 persons per village and about 5 persons per household. The rural house is primitive in appearance irregular in shape and crude in construction. It is usually small and unhygienic.

In shape these dwellings differ considerably, but in their general ground plan they are roughly rectangular. The thatched or tiled roof rises in the centre and covers the parallel walls at an angle which varies from 25° to 40°. The constructional material of their walls and roops affirms their overwhelming dependence on the local resources. Walls are generally made of mud or burnt bricks. In Jhansi division out of every 1000 houses, approximately 856 have mud walls and 142 burnt brick walls. Roffing material varies from place to place but the region as a whole is chiefly characterised by mud tiles prepared from clays collected from local tank beds. In Jhansi division 923 out of every 1000 houses have tiles or stone slabs, or both.

Morphologically it is possible to discern a kind of rough zoning in the land use pattern of Bundelkhand village. In general the nucleus of the village the abadi area occupied by farmers dwellings, each having one or two neem trees whose cumulative dense growth often signify the presence of the village when viewed from some distance. Abadi is often srrounded on one or two sides, by an orchard zone of mango groves while on the other side is the tank fringing the village. Beyond these lie the fields given to grain farming often cut a cross by a tongue of village forests or radially penetrated by cart tracks. At the outer fringe of the village is the zone of pasture land called Maida which also act as the boundary between two villages.

2.5 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES OF BUNDELKHAND

2.5:1 Topography : The boundaries of Bundelkhand for the purposes of the present research work have already been defined. Turning now to the topography of the region, names such as the Vindhyas, the Betwa, the Dhasan, the Bina, the Kena and the Yamuna come casually to our mind, forming, as they do, the warp and woof of the region under study.

The Vindhyas constitute the chief mountain range of the region having been held as one among the seven Kula-Parvatas of ancient times (Brahmanda Purana: 2,16,19). The treasure of Indian mythology has preserved a beautiful myth personifying the mountain and narrating its attempt to obstruct the path of

Surya, Rsi Agastya wanted to cross to the south and so at his asking the attempt was postponed till his return. The Rsi is yet to cross back. Symbolically the myth represents the stage of Aryan penetration south of the Vindhyas. It finds frequent mention in ancient literature (M.R. Kale:1924) as well as inscriptions (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Ptolemy's 'oeuindon' is taken for the Vindhyas (K.L. Agrawal: 1973).

The Yamuna is certainly the Kalindakanya of Kalidasa (Raghubans: 1961). Kalindi of Eran Stone Pillar inscription of Budhagupta (R.B. Pande: 1962) and Kalindatanaya of Khajuraho Stone inscription (R.B. Pandey: 1962). The Betwa is the Vetravati of old times and mentioned as river Malava in Khajuraho Stone incription. River Dasarna of ancient literature id identified with modern Dhasan forming boundary between Jhansi and Hamirpur districts. Modern Kena falling into the Yamuna is Karnavati of former times.

The region is rich in romantic remains of the past and lot is yet to be redeemed from the ravages of Time and rogues of the antique world. Very few provinces of India can boast of such large legacy in the form of painted rock-shelters, temples and sculptures. One is bound to lose the count trying to list them. A portion of this iconic and architectural material has now been transferred to various museums and its thorough study is essential to recreating the religious life of the region in the period of our study.

Described below, therefore, are almost all the notable archaeological sites of Bundelkhand with an idea about their geographical location and a brief account of the antiquities that still greet us as the place. Some such sites came to light in course of explorations undertaken for the purposes of the present work. Hence they are yet to acquire place in the archaeological map of Bundelkhand. (Fig. 2.8).

2.5:II BANDA DISTRICT

2.5:II-a: Bilharia: Possessing a beautiful location in the midst of a valley and situated at a distance of 45Kms. from Banda town, the village contains the remains of a small stone temple standing on the top of a rocky hill locally known as Bilharia matha. Consisting only of a sanctum and a portico, the temple appears to have been dedicated to Visnu as his figure can be noticed in the lalatabimba of the sanctum doorway. Profusely ornamented, as were its outer facades, the carvings contained, according to Cunningham, figures of Gajalaksmi, Haragauri, Ardhanarisdvara and Sarasvati. (Archaeological Survey Report:1903).

2.5:II-b: Chitrakuta: Important evidence is available attesting to its early habitation. Accompanied by Sita and Laksamana, Lord Rama, the ideal man of Indian tradition, came and rested at this 'many-hued peak', during the period of his exile. Situated on the left bank of the Paisuni river, at a distance of about 70Kms. south-east of Banda, it had the honour to become the abode of

Fig. 2.9
Yami, Lokhri (Dist. Banda)

Fig. 2.10
Kankālī, Lokhri (Dist. Banda).

Fig. 2.11
Mesamukhī, Lokhri (Dist. Banda).

Fig. 2.12
Kaumārī, Lokhri (Dist. Banda).

the sage-poet Valmiki who sang its praises in the following words:

> Auspicious hill; where all day long,
> The lapwing's cry, the Koil's song,
> Make all, who listen, gay-
> Where all is fresh and fair to see,
> Where elephants and deer roam free..
>
> (Srimad Balmiki Ramayan: 1951)

The Godavari of the Lesser Epic has been placed a few kms. to the south of Chitrakuta (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). Barring a few sculptures of early medieval times scattered in the vicinity of the village, we have nothing to our purpose. A little away is Dashrathaghat preserving among its carvings figures of Sesasayi Visnu, Mahisamardini and Surya.

2.5:II-c: Gonda : About $1\frac{1}{2}$ kms. away from the high road leading from Karwai to Banda, the village was noted by Cunningham for two temples (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). Of them the larger he identified as dedicated to Visnu and the smaller to Laksmi, basing his reading on the figures occupying the lalatabimbas of the respective shrines.

2.5:II-d: Kalanjara : Mentioned as Rudrakoti in Kurma-Purana (Kurma Purana: 1970) and taken to be an abode of Siva, its very name is believed to have been derived from Siva's activity as Kala or Time causing everything in the world to decay (Jara). Located at a distance of 55kms. from Banda town in latitude 25.1°N. and longitude 80.29°E, it is held as on of the

Tapasyasthanas going back to the Vedic period according to Wilson who dated the founding of the fortress to the beginning of the Christian era (Archaeological Survey Report: 1937). The Kalacuri occupation of Kalanjara is placed in the mid-third century A.D. and the event is regarded important enough to be commemorated by the foundation of an era.

Beyond doubt is the sacred character of the spot. It figures in the list of nine holy places of northern India. A bath in the tank inside the fort earned religious merit equivalent to the gift of 1000 cows. In tradition the waters of Surhia Tal are supposed to have cured king Kirtivarman of his leprosy (Indian Archaeology: 1905). The event, if true, must have further enchanced public faith in the holy character of Kalanjara. The idea is echoed by the author of Mahobakhand as well. (Mahoba Khand: 1976). By the close of Candella period a regular festival in connection with pilgrimage ot Kalanjara had been instituted finding frequent mention in the dramas of Batsaraja (Mahoba Khand: 1976).

Among the antiquities surviving at the spot notable is the Nilakantha temple of Lord Siva. An octagonal cave in shape with a Candella mandapa in front, the temple contains representations of twin river-godesses and the divine pair Hara-gauri, which have been dated to the Gupta epoch. Worthy of note, further, are rock-cut representations of Siva, Parvati, Ganesa, and Nandi near a reservoir now known as Hanumana-Kund and a colossal Kalabhairava, Sesasayi Visnu and Varaha near lake Gangasagara.

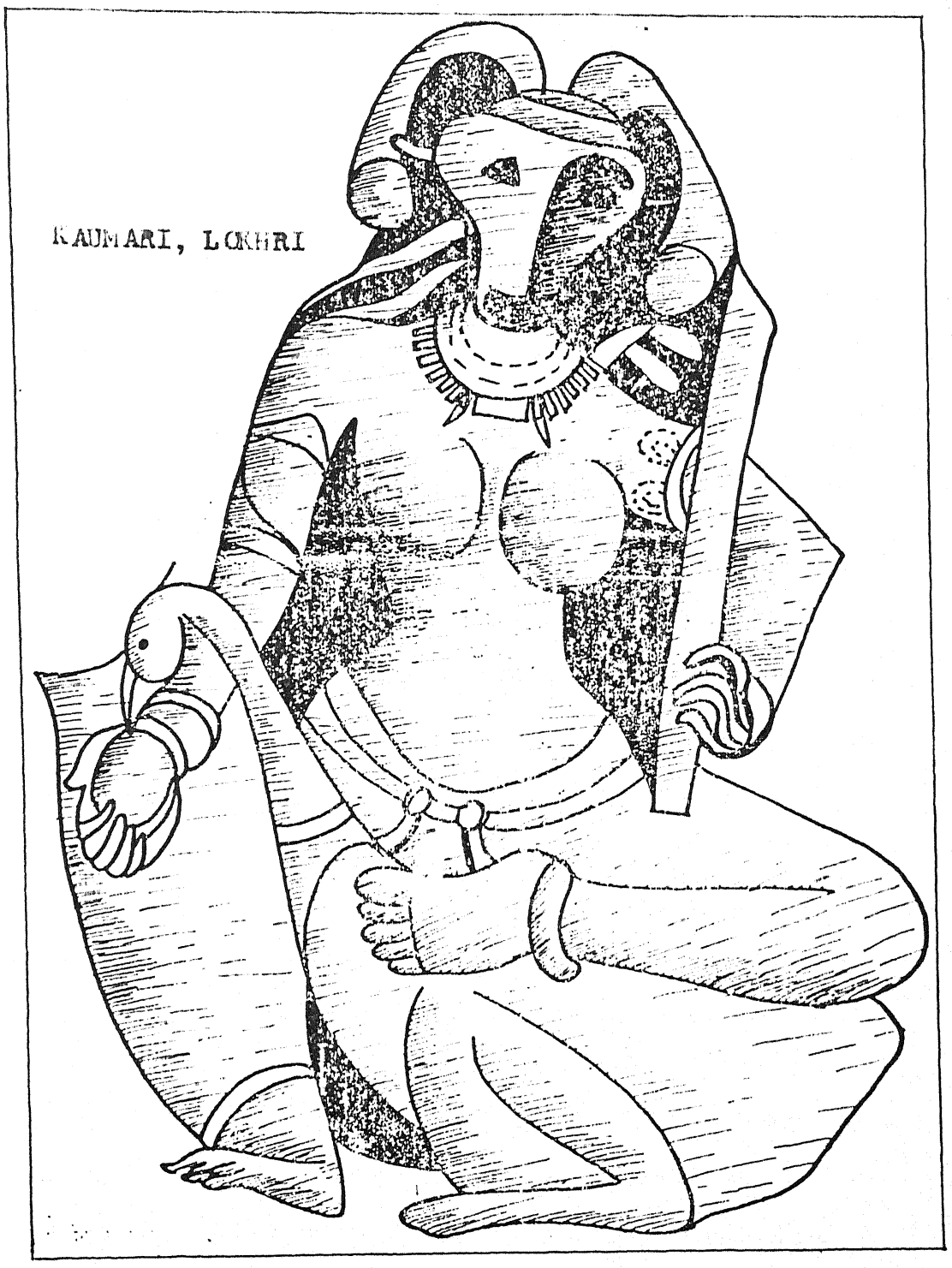


FIG: 2·12

The total number of icons may well be a thousand.

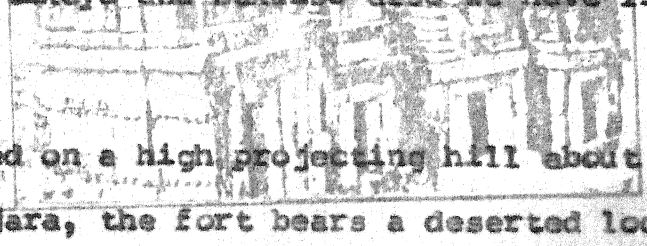
Of greater importance and deeper significance, however, is epigraphic evidence recovered here or referring to it, though found elsewhere. The earliest of inscriptions comes down from the Gupta period (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). The place must have acquired political importance by then, if not earlier, since the date concerning its Kalacuri occupation is yet to be confirmed. The Pratiharas do not feel proud of its possession whereas the Candellas do. In Saraha Copper Plate of Bhoja (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Kalanjara is merely a mandala headquarter but Khajuraho Stone inscription regards its conquest as singular success of Yasovarman (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). This fact stands further confirmed by the title Kalanjaradhipati assumed by the Candella kings from Dhanga onwards. We are not sure if Kalanjara was ever the capital of the Candellas, since the royal records and local tradition mention Khajuraho and Mahoba respectively, but the fact of its having been a military capital is too obvious to need confirmation. The Muslim invasions of Bundelkhand mainly aimed at capturing Kalanjara. The commandership of Kalanjara was a rare reward in recognition of signal services and the revenue of one willage was fixed as the salary of that functionary, who enjoyed the title of Visisa (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Kalanjara owed this military importance to its elevated mountainous position commanding a very wide area which is beautifully reflected in the myth, already mentioned, and looms large in inscriptions as well. To quote the Khajuraho record:

"He (Yasovarman) easily conquered the Kalanjara mountain the dwelling place of Siva which is so high that it impedes the progress of the Sun at mid-day.

Whatever be the worth of the story, current in contemporary bardic circles and offering an account of the origin of the Candellas, Kalanjara figures prominently in it and Hemavati, their Brahmanic ancestress is believed to have shifted here from Kashi (Mahoba Khand: 1976).

2.5:II-e: Lokhri : Situated at the northern foot of the Vindhya hills at a distance of 9 kms. to the north-west of Dabora station, the village contains a number of sculptures depicting Varaha, Nrsimha, Ganesa, and Bhairava among others. An important discovery of utmost interest to us was made about a decade ago by K.D. Bajpai who chanced upon a yogini centre near here assignable to eighth century A.D. (M.P. Chronicle: 1975). In all, twenty-nine yogini icons have been found meriting mention among them being representations of Aindri Vainayaki, Yami (Fig. 2.9), Sasi, Kankali (Fig. 2.10), Nagi, Mesamukhi (Fig. 2.11), Narasimhi and Kaumari (Fig. 2.12). Of Kartikeya and Lakuisa also we have lithic representations.

2.5:II-f: Marpha : Situated on a high projecting hill about 20kms. to the north-east of Kalanjara, the fort bears a deserted look and is overgrown with jungle. As already noted, Marpha is among the eight forts assigned by tradition to the Candellas but hardly anything of their times has survived here. The inscriptions


Temple Group, Mau Sohania
(Dist. Chhatarpur)

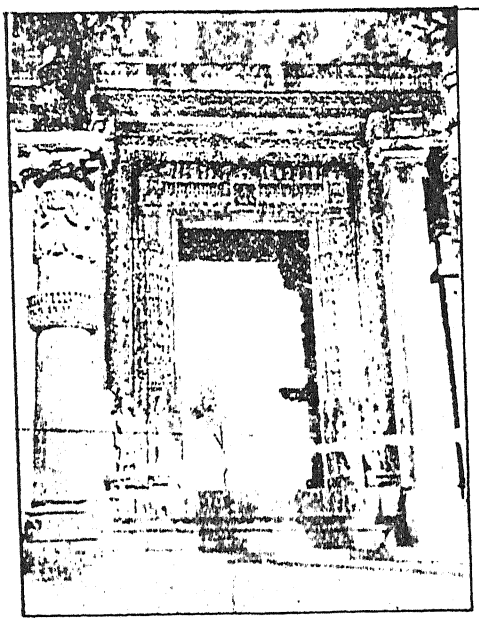


Fig. 2·14 Ghaṇṭai Temple, Khajuraho
(Dist. Chhatarpur).

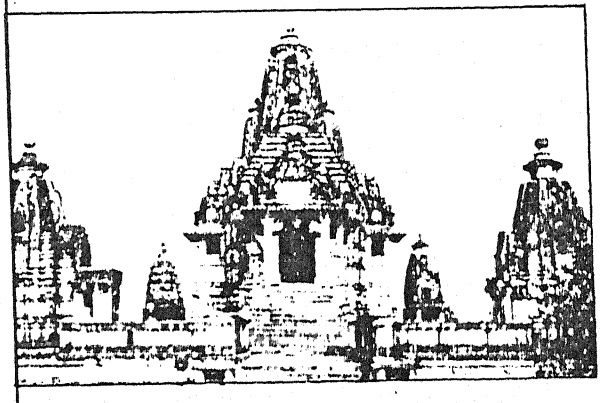


Fig. 2·13
Lakṣamaṇa Temple, Khajuraho
(Dist. Chhatarpur).

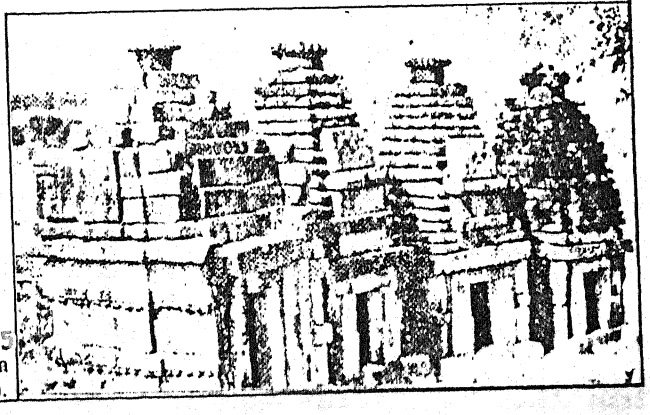


Fig. 2·15
Temple Group, Mau Suhania
(Dist. Chhatarpur).

available belong to Late-Medieval period (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903).

2.5:II-g: Rasin : Lying about 40 kms. away from Banda on high road to Kalanjara the village is dotted with ruined shrines indicating that the place must have been a populous city in times past. Located in latitude 25.11°N. and longitude 80.44°E, the village has a wealth of antiquities belonging mostly to the Candella period. Needing note for us is Ratananatha temple, buried in a thick forest and standing on a hill overlooking verdant woods. It is locally known as Canda-Mahesvari temple. Another shrine dedicated to Ganesa stands hard by the village with a twenty-four armed colossal image of the elephant-headed god. In stray sculpture, lying about the village, we have icons of Camunda, Hanumana, Nrsimha, Nandi and Durga.

Interesting it is to find that another village, also known as Rasin about 7 Kms. away from Banda, is an ancient site as is evident in the antiquities scattered over there. Among sculptures two representing Ganesa and Durga are worth-noting.

Our survey of Banda district is by no means complete and some more sites could be named and described in addition to those, covered above, but they hardly add to what we already know. We could pass on noting only their names- Pailani, Laudi and Gairaha.

Of late, a new source has emerged for the study of history. Rock-paintings came to light long back but their value

in reconstructing the picture of early society and civilization is only recently being recognized. The problem of their dating is being scientifically tackled enhancing their worth as a source of history. Banda district is one of the richest in our area as regards painted rock-shelters. These nature-made dwellings of man are as far-flung in location as the frontiers of the district but as good a work of art as are sculptural and architectural remains. Notable among the villages, in the vicinity of which these shelters are situated, are Sorhat, Kariakund, Bargarh, Parkandi, Mazharan and Chitrakuta. At Sorhat a cart without wheels is painted being drawn by a single ox. The occupant has an umbrella shading him.

2.5:III CHATARPUR DISTRICT

2.5:III-a: Khajuraho : Located in latitude 24.51°N and longitude 79.56°E the antiquity of this temple-town has been taken back to Ptolemy whose 'Kurapporina' Cunningham was inclined to identify with Khajuraho (Archaeolpgical Survey Report: 1903) but the available evidence does not support the suggestion. However, recent research in archaeology has established that this forested region was the abode of Stone-Age man and the tribal people until the Candellas built their temples (S.P. Gupta & Ramchandra, K.S.: 1977). The point is very significant as it shows the place was especially selected by the Candellas to raise their religious monuments and a good deal of interaction between the tribals and the Aryans must have followed.

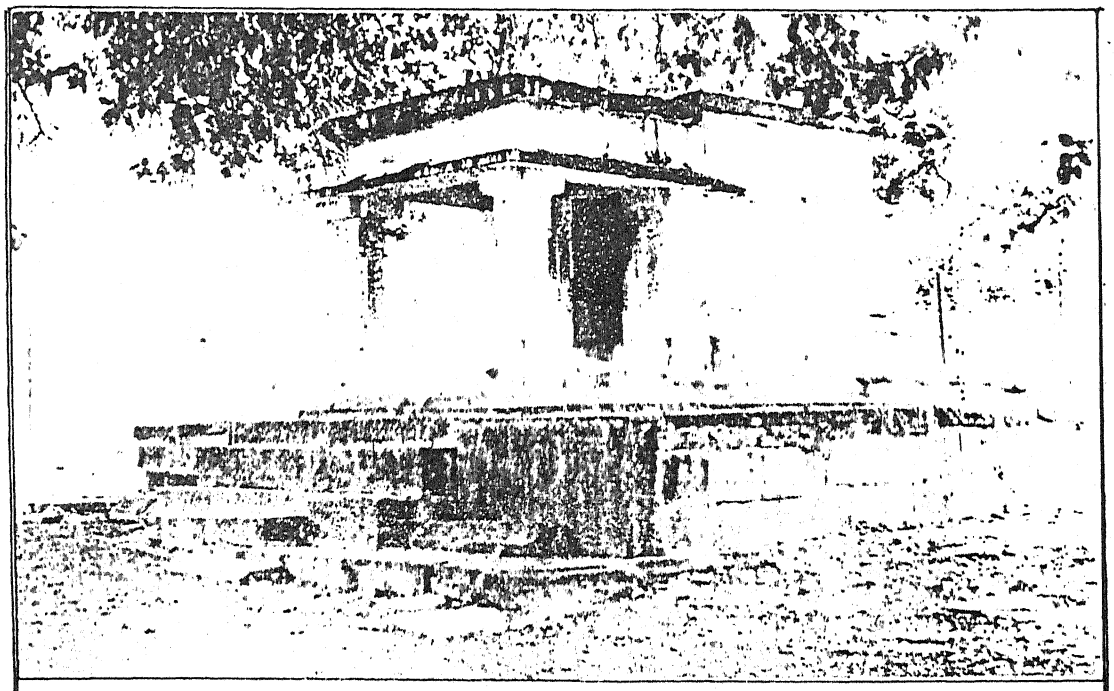


Fig. 2.17: Brāhmaṇical Temple, Kundalpur (Dist. Damoh).

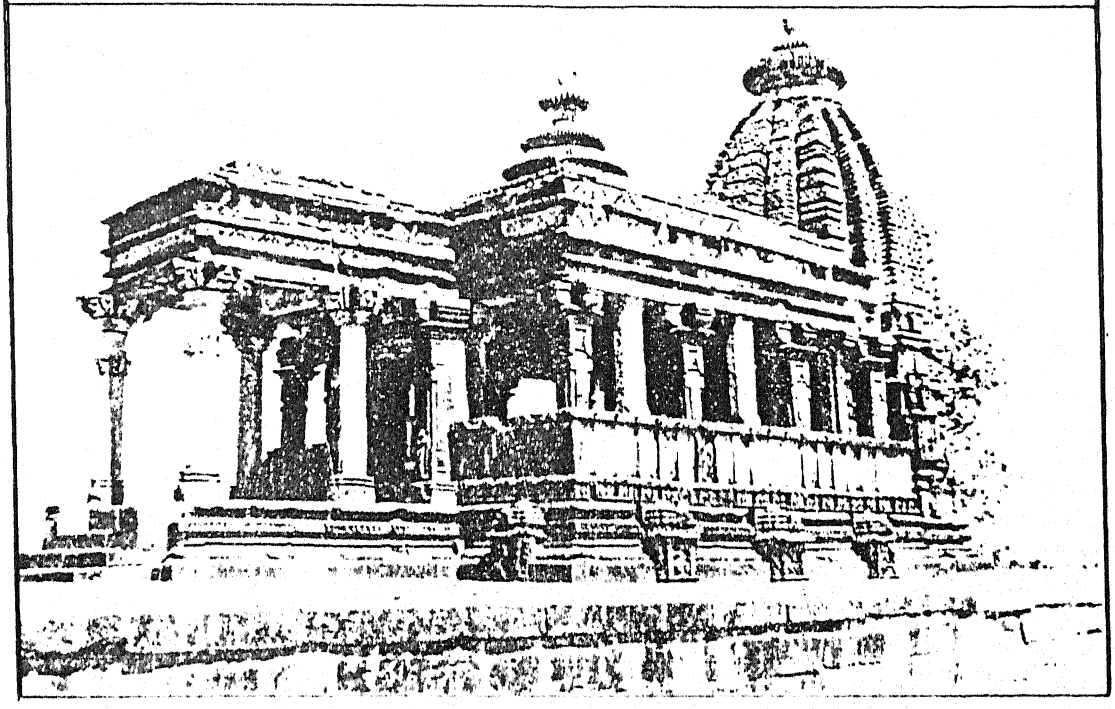


Fig. 2.18 Siva Temple Nohatā (Dist. Damoh).

In epigraphic records, recovered from the place, the Sanskritized equivalent- Kharjurvahaka- of the current name figures. Taken literally it stands for a place having a grove of date-palms. Cunningham did notice a few when he discovered the site, though now not a single date-palm is to be seen here. Viewed from this angle, the name could arise anywhere and we should not be surprised to chance upon a couple of less known Khajurahos in the area of our study.

Khajuraho is verily a temple-town and out of an unknown number some twenty-five have survived the iconoclastic enthusiasm of early-medieval invaders and cyclic tempests of Time. We have seen that a curious myth is recorded by contemporary bardic tradition seeking to explain the origin of the Candellas. It touches upon the phenomenon of Khajuraho temples as well putting their total at eighty-five built by the founder ruler Candravarman to expiate for the sins of his mother Hemavati. A little later in the same work the bard has credited divine architect Visvakarma with the raising of these magnificent monuments. (Mahoba Khand: 1976). It goes without saying that this traditional account has hardly any grain of history and is based only on bardic imagination.

Too well-known are these temples to need any elaborate description here. Even since their discovery voluminous and meticulous coverage from every conceivable angle they have received and the scholarly world is yet to arrive at unanimous meaning of the erotic sculpture appearing on their walls, throwing a challenge to generation after generation of intellectuals and

art-historians. A point worthnoting in this regard is non-recognition of Khajuraho as a place of pilgrimage. It is a little surprising that a town possessing nearly thirty temples of substantial size and shining sculpture did not have a tirtha status. The early-medieval and medieval works compiling a list of contemporary tirthas completely ignore Khajuraho.

A bird's eye-view of the extant temples will not be out of place here. Earliest among these is a shrine of the Saktas consecrated to sixty-four yoginis. Next in chronology come those of Brahma and Lalguan Mahadeva, of which the former was originally dedicated to Visnu. All these were built wholly or partly of granite.

The Matangesvara is regarded first among the sand-stone temples. It is a Saiva shrine. The Varaha temple is merely a mandapa standing on four pillars.

First among the finer sand-stone temples is the Laksamana (Fig. 2.13) belonging to the Vaisnava sect. A Sandhara Prasada of the pancayatana variety, is rightly assigned to the regin of Yasovarman Candella on grounds of epigraphic evidence (R.B. Pande: 1962).

Fig. [illegible] Sixty-Four-Armed Cāmundā, Mahoba (Dist. Hamirpur)

Not much distant in date is the Parsvanatha temple built at the time of king Dhangadeva. Save for the Jina image in the sanctum and Jina figures seated in the doorlintel, the temple is hardly distinguishable from the Brahmanical shrines

Fig.2.12 Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara, Mahoba (Dist. Hamirpur).

Fig. 2.23 Padmapāṇi Avalokitesvara, Mahoba (Dist. Hamirpur).

Fig.2.24 Sixty-Four-Armed Cāmuṇḍā, Mahoba (Dist. Hamirpur).

standing at the site, showing thereby that the artists and architects employed in the making of temples were the same irrespective of the faith for which they were to work.

The Visvanatha is a Sandhara temple of Saiva affiliation and pancayatana in nature. It is datable to the year A.D. 1002 on the basis of an inscription now studded into the mandapawall (Epigraphia Indica: 1892).

The Jagadambi and Citragupta are nirandhara prasadas assignable to the first quarter of the eleventh century. The former of these was originally dedicated to Visnu.

The largest and liftiest as well as the most magnificent and marvellous is the Kandariya Mahadeva. Verily a gem of architecture and a treasure of incalculable sculptural wealth, it has been dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

To the third quarter of the same century belongs the Vamana temple and slightly later in date is a Jaina shrine dedicated to Lord Adinatha of which only the sanctum and vestibule survive now. The Javari, is a small well-proportioned nirandhara prasada consecrated to Visnu. It is placed in the period 1078.1100 A.D.

Standing at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Kms. from the main group is yet another Visnu temple now known as Caturbhuja temple. Possessing a beautiful and well-carved image of the god and

resembling the Javari in many of its architectural features, the temple is placed round about 1100 A.D. Last of the line is Duladeo, a Saiva shrine with a Sapteratha plan and placed in the second quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

The Ghantai temple, so called owing to the chain and bell motifs carved in bold relief on its tall, elegant pillars, is the fragmentary shell of a structure belonging to the Jaina faith (Fig. 2.14). Only an ardhamandapa and a mahamandapa stand in situ resting on four pillars. It is assigned to the end of the tenth century A.D.

The dating of the temples (Archaeology of India: 1959) done above, shows that building of temples commenced at Khajuraho with the Candellas coming to power and went on for a couple of centuries largely under royal patronage and is no way an overnight miracle wrought by some supernatural architect like Visvakarma. From the Khajuraho records we learn that all the Jaina shrines and a few Brahmanical ones owe their existence to the munificence of non-princely patrons. Kokkala, the maker of Vaidyanatha temple, does not come of a kingly family (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). What further surprises us is the fact that his record wakes eloquent over the splendour and charm of Padmavati town, maintaining a mysterious silence about Khajuraho where the temple financed by him was to be located.

Fig 2.[illegible] Double storeyed Siva Temple, Urwara (Dist. Hamirpur).

Another fact emerging from the survey is that a liberal and tolerant atmosphere characterised the religious life at

Fig. 2·[illegible] Viṣṇu, Rahilya, (Dist. Hamirpur).

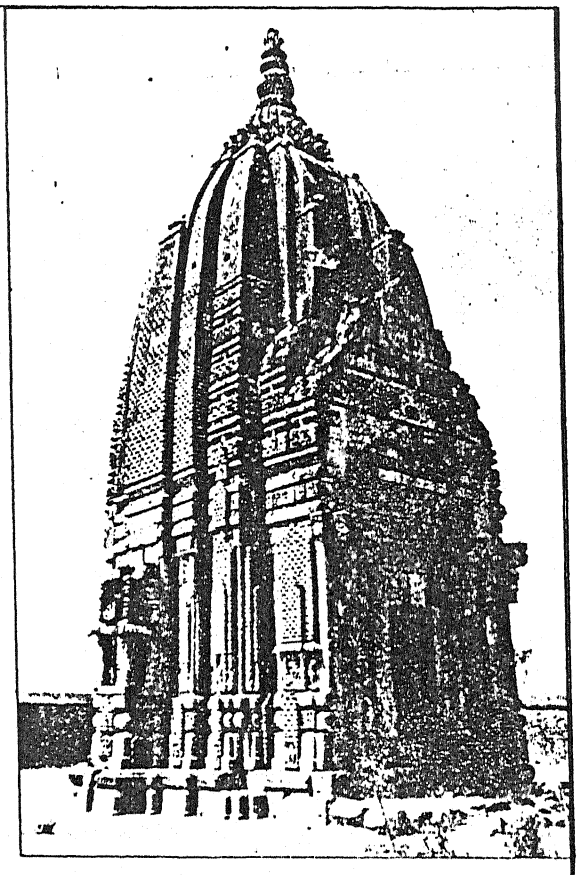


Fig.2·[illegible] Viṣṇu Temple, Baruasagar (Dist. Jhansi).

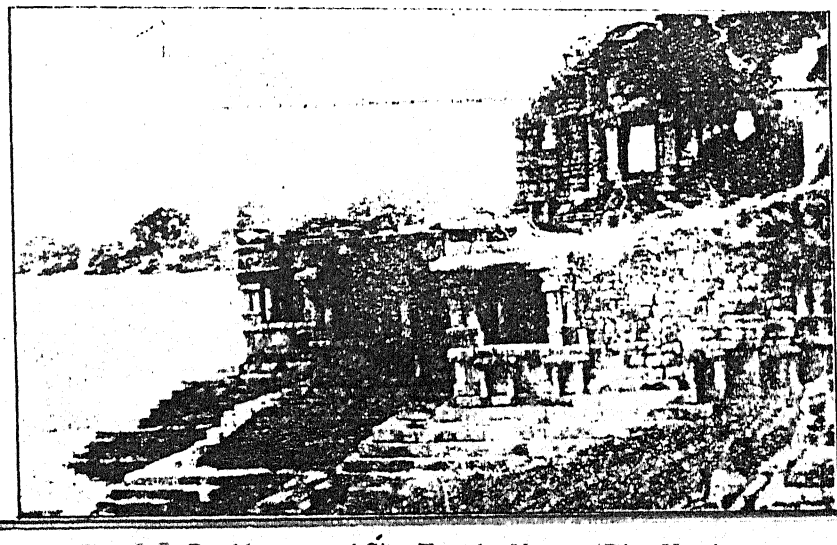


Fig.2·[illegible] Double storeyed Śiva Temple, Urwara (Dist. Hamirpur).

Khajuraho with orthodox and heterodox cults flourishing side by side. Ofcourse, even otherwise, Indian history records very few instances of religious intolerance but what sets Khajuraho apart is that it was held in equally high esteem by all the three major religious systems of the time and the kings not only permitted this coexistence, but encouraged it as well.

The living together and coming closer contributed to another significant development in the history of Brahmanism. The idea of worshipping all the five principal deities together gained ground shaping out in the form of Smarta cult in which the chief principle was to offer simultaneous worship to Visnu, Siva, Surya, Sakti and Ganesa. Culmination of the cult can be seen in the pancayatana shrines that contain four subsidiary temples in corners of their jagati intended for four principal deities other than the one to whom the main shrine was dedicated. However, Cunningham found that such shrines attached to the Laksamana temple were all dedicated to Visnu. (Archaeological Survey Reports 1903) which was the chief god of the chief temple as well. Possibley the maker wanted to glorify Visnu to the exclusion of others adopting the idiom of Smarta ideologues.

Syncretism in Brahmanic iconography is much older than monuments of Khajuraho. Here it found further elaboration and diversification. Voluminous coverage from a variety of angles has already been given to ancient art and iconography of Khajuraho which contain a rich representation of Brahmanical myths associated with Krsna, Visnu and Siva.

In addition to architectural and art relics, inscriptions also constitute a part of the Khajuraho elgacy. They throw a welcome light on the religious life and beliefs of early-medieval Bundelkhand. A few have already been referred to in foregoing chapters and the remaining we could conveniently refer and utilise at appropriate place elsewhere in the book in order to avoid repetition.

Of Buddhism very little trace has survived in this temple-town, though Cunningham found that the Chinese pilgrim noted a number of monasteries flourishing here. The pioneer archaeologist was inclined to identify the ruined mounds in northern group of the temples as the likely sites of Buddhist monuments (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903), but as we have earlier seen, it is difficult to apply the description exactly to Khajuraho. Barring a solitary Buddha figure now housed in the local museum practically nothing survives of Buddhism.

2.5:III-b: Manyagarh : Lying on the left bank of the river Ken about 25 Kms. south-east of Chhatarpur and commanding a clear view of Rajgarh, this Candella fort has been named after the tutelary diety of the Candella dynasty. The temple of the tribal god Manyadeva is now buried in a thick forest and is difficult of access, Strange indeed, the Candellas chose Khajuraho in preference to this place to raise their religious monuments.

Fig. 2 : Sihara Linga, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

2.5:III-c: Mau Suhania : Characterised by a beautiful sheet of water and surrounded on all sides by pretty hillocks, the village

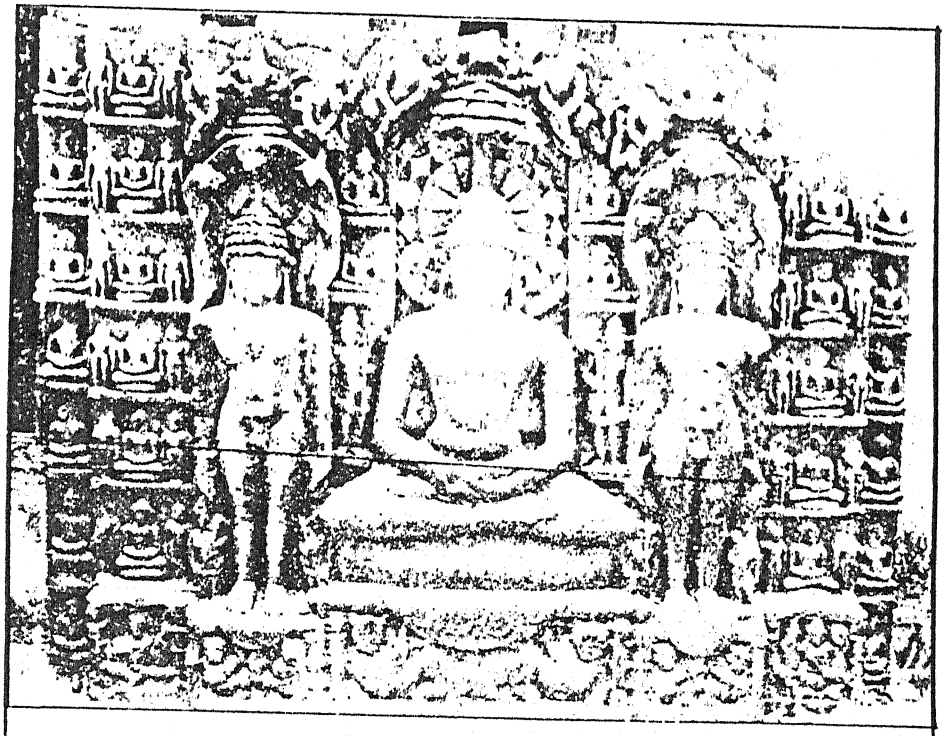


Fig. 2. Tricaubīsī, Banpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

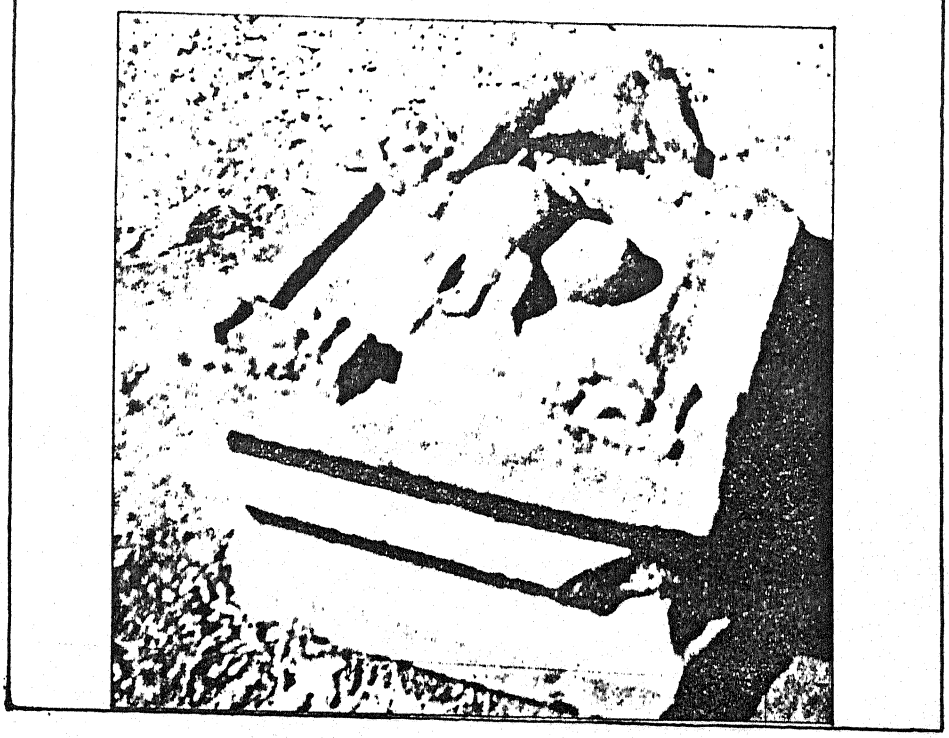


Fig. 1. 6 Smārta Liṅga, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

lies about 15 kms. west of Chhatarpur. Tradition avers that it had the honour of being a minor seat of Pratihara government, a fact attested to by the presence of many granite temples in Pratihara provincial style still surviving here.

Near Bhimakunda stands one of the temple-groups. Consisting only of a square sanctum- cella and a phyramidal sikhara of horizontal tiers and inordinate style with a crowing amalaka, each of these temples reminds us of the tiny cells of Causatha-yogini temple at Khajuraho. The jangha and the doorway of these temples are devoid of any decorative designs. The icons having gone, it is difficult to decide upon their dedication (Fig.2.15). They can be assigned to the ninth century A.D. The so called Nagababa temple situated beside the path leading to the state museum, Dhubela remarkably represents the group. Possessing primitive features and plain character, the temple is in good state of preservation (Fig. 2.16).

Slightly developed in plan, style and elevation is another temple, also located near Bhimkunda. With a pancaratha plan as well as elevation, it possesses a curvilinear Sikhara and crowing amalaka. The portico that stood in front earlier is now missing leaving a few traces of its having been there.

Among other sites with monuments of Pratihar make, but in most miserable condition, names of Kainry and Chamtua we could mention. A Jaina temple of slightly later date with Lord Santinatha as presiding diety exists at Urdmau about 35 kms. away from Chhatarpur.

2.5:IV DAMOH DISTRICT

2.5:IV-a: Basa Tarkheda : The site is unnoticed as yet. Here has been found an icon of Buddha assignable to early-medieval period on grounds of palaeography of the inscription incised on its pedestal. The discovery is important in that it points to a Buddhist pocket surviving in this part even after A.D. 1000. Much more material pertaining to the sect might come to light if the site is systematically explored and excavated. The village is a few kms. away from Gadhakota.

2.5:IV-b: Badgaon : A solitary Siva temple of about tenth-eleventh centuries A.D. is worthy of note. Save for the sanctum and a part of the Sikhara all else is lost and still littered around. The sikahara shows six kaina-an-alakas indicating arrangement of seven bhumis originally. Facing the temple is a large sheet of water enhancing the beauty of the place. The village lies about 30kms. north-east of Nohata.

The description, given above does not tally with Badgaon figuring in the survey report of Cunningham. He speaks of having noted ruins of about thirty-five temples at the place, some affiliated to Jainism and others to Brahmanism. From the Somanatha temple, he recovered an inscription in characters of ninth-tenth centuries A.D. which contained the name of Kalcuri King Vigraha Cedi (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). One simply wonders why this Badgaon could not rise as rival to Kahjuraho where the number of temples is much less.

Fig. 2.9 Vishnu Temple, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur)

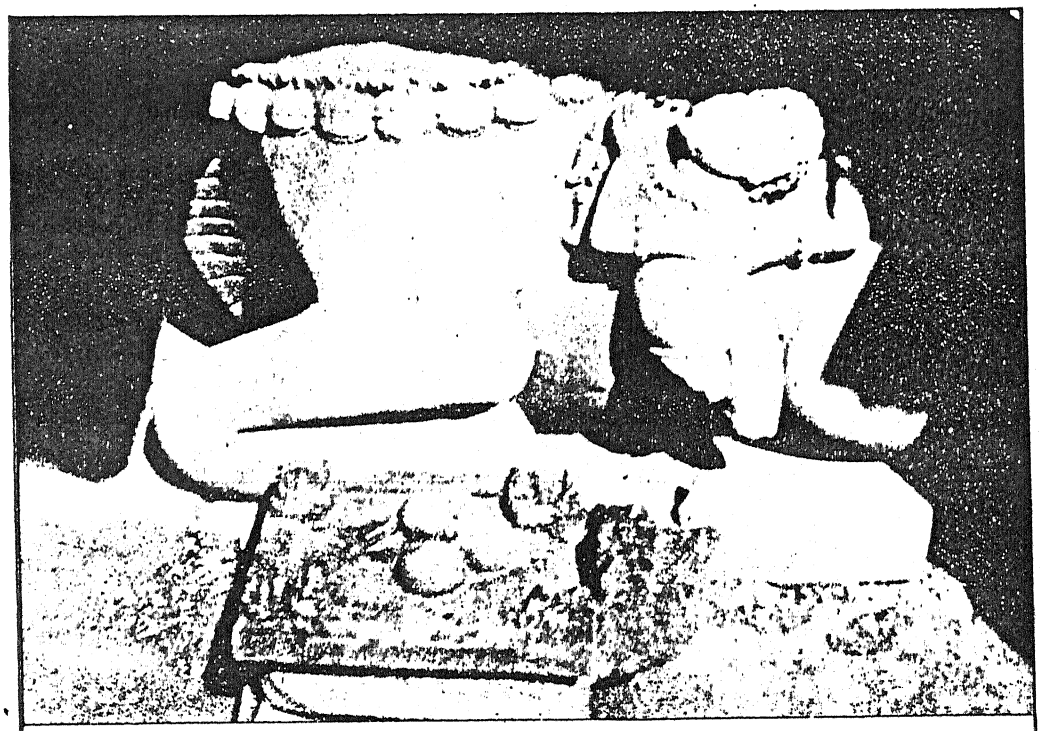


Fig.2.27 Nandī with climbing Skanda, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

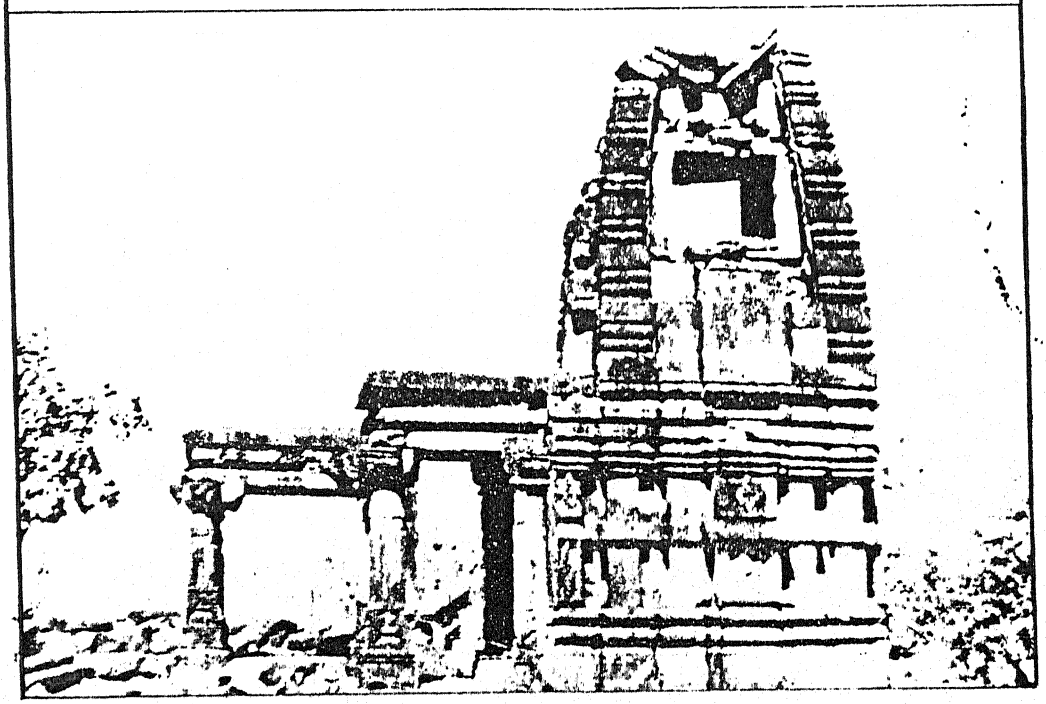


Fig.2.28 Viṣṇu Temple, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

2.5:IV-c: Banvansa : This too is a new discovery made during the explorations undertaken for the present work. Situated at a distance of 20 kms. south-east of Nohata, here survives a small Siva shrine of flat-roofed and single-slab pattern bearing a close resemblance to the early Gupta temples. But it certainly comes of the post-Gupta period as can be made out from the sculptural remains which are devoid of that grace and charm characterising the Gupta art. In addition to this Saiva shrine, one dedicated to Visnu could also be postulated on the basis of a door-lintel with Visnu in Lalatambiba lying near by.

2.5:IV-d: Doni : This hamlet on a hill-top is about 25 kms. away from Tendukheda. About eleven temples appear to have been in existence here assignable to 10th-11th centuries A.D. Utterly ruined beyond recognition, they make a moving spectacle. In affiliation they were Jaina as well as Brahmanical though the exact number if either case is difficult to settle. Among the icons, still lying at the place, those of Skanda, Agni and Jain Yaksi Ambika merit mention. Inside a Caitya-gavaksa a carving of Yogasana Visnu is also remarkable.

2.5:IV-e: Hindoria : Located 15 kms. north-east of Damoh town, the village has numerous antiquities. The gatewar of the Jugal-Kishore temple in the village conists of door jambs and door-stills removed from the ruins of Kalacuri temples. At a distance of 2 kms. to the west of the village is Badi Bhuvan or Isarmau, the original site of this old town. Covered all over with ruins

of temples, it is surrounded by cultivated fields on all sides. Among the sculptures lying here, note could be taken of Sesasayi Visnu, Bhairava, Camunda, Hanumana and a Jina.

Into the open ground in front of the residence of Shri Pratap Narayan Thakur in the village are scattered some more art-relics, taken obviously from the old town. A Kayotsarga Jina, Nrsimbhavatara, and Sesasayi Visnu are noteworthy among these.

2.4:IV-f: Khamaria Maujilal : This too is an unnoticed site. At a distance of 15kms. from Nohata on the road leading to Tejgarh, the village has a lovely location. None of the ancient temples survive now but their traces greet us at the very outskirts. Under a Pipal tree on a platform are accommodated two door-lintels with Visnu and Siva in their Lalatabimbas. Hard by, a broken image of Hanumana can also be noticed.

2.5:IV-g: Kodal : Situated at a distance of 17kms. south-east of Tendukheda, the village is known for its ruined Siva temple of Kalacuri times. Only the sanctum and a fragment of the sikhara survive now. The sculptural bands of the jangha contain figures of sura-sundaris and parivara-devatas of Lord Siva. The door-frame also has copious carvings. Destitute of any deity and decorative designs is another structure, resting on massive square pillars, standing close to the Saiva shrine.

Fig.2.3 L Ganesa, Dudhahu (Dist. Lalitpur).

2.5:IV-h: Kundalpur : Words will fail to depict the beauty of this place. Dotted with hills, each of which is crowned by a Jain

Fig. 2.31 Headless Hanumāna, Dudhahi (Dist. Lalitpur).

Fig. 2.32 Ganésa, Dudhahi (Dist. Lalitpur).

temple, the charm of this well-known sacred site of the Jainas is further enhanced by a large body of water called Vardhamana-sagar. Secluded and serene, the place must have attracted ancient rsis.

Kundalpur is about 40kms. north-east of Damoh town. None among the existing temples on the hills could be taken to ancient or early-medieval period. Similar in shape, they possess square body, domed roof and pinnacles at the corners.

Cunningham located here two flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period to the west of Vardhamansagar at the foot of the hills (Archaeological Survey Reports 1903). Made on single-slab pating of square sanctum and a shallow porch (Fig. 2.17). The icons enshrined within are surely of later period, one of them is Visnu and the other a Ravanamugraha murti of Siva.

A two-storeyed structure, of which the upper one has fallen now, locally known as Rukmini Matha also merits mention. Devoid absolutely of sculptural carving and destitute of any deity inside, it poses the problem of deciding upon its dedication. A loose stone slab containing representation of the Jaina Yaksa pair Comedha and Ambika, sitting lalitakdsepa under tree is lying inside. However, we cannot be sure of its Jaina affiliation as the slab does not seem to be belonging to it.

High up on a hill is the famous Bade Baba temple. The temple itself is of much later period but its courtyard contains

some icons representing Jaina deities. Among these one can see Yaksis as well as Tirthankaras. On the basis of these art relics alone the ancient association of Jainas with the place could be established, as the temples themselves are of late-medieval design.

2.5:IV-i: Nohata : Commanding a captivating confluence of the Barma and the Guraiya rivers, it lies 20 kms. south-east of Damoh town on Jabalpur road.

The solitary monument surviving here is a Saiva shrine standing within an enclosure of modern make and enshrining a linga. Erected on a low jagati, it has a shallow porch, a large mandapa, a constricted antarala and a plain garbha-grha. The sikhara, rising above the sanctum, is curvilinear in design, panca-ratha in plan and ornamented all over with caitya-window carvings. The temple has no pradaksina patha (Fig. 2.18).

Near the Police-Station on the outskirts of the village is a small modern temple of Hanumana, into the jagati and walls of this temple are studded with a number of panels. A door-lintel with Visnu in the Lalatabimba, a sukhasana Ganesa, and amalaka piece can be easily made out. In every nook and corner of the village we come upon innumerable icons lying under trees or on the mud-platforms or built into house walls. To name a few, Ganga-Yamuna, Surya, Skanda and Navagrahas are easily identifiable.

Upon a mound to the north-west of the village are lying several Jina images and six icons of Ganesa. From other indicat-

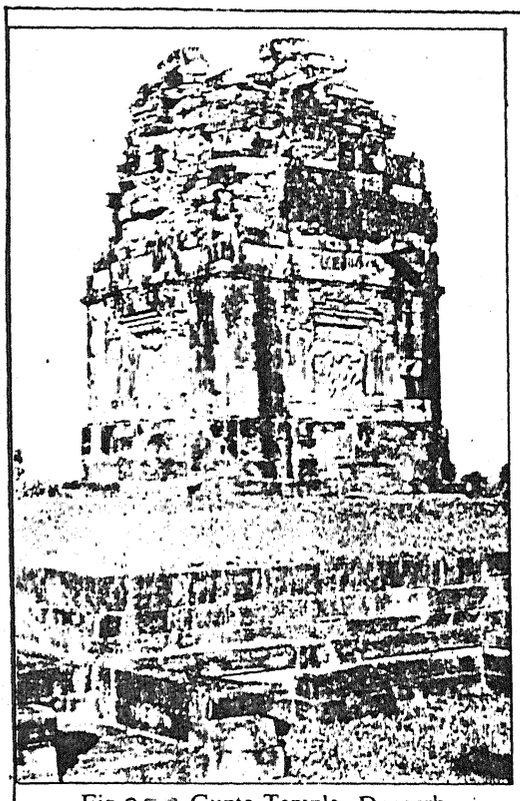


Fig. 2.33 Gupta Temple, Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

Fig. 2.34 Gajendramoksa, Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

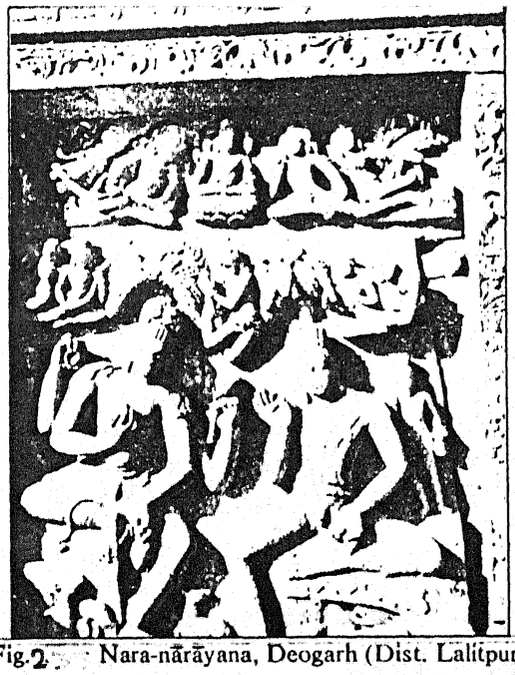


Fig. 2.35 Nara-nārāyana, Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

ions as well, the site seems to have been sacred to the sect of the Ganapatyas. The Kher Mata Marhia standing on the road also retains a rich collection of relics finely carved. The beautiful boar at Phutera tank in Damoh town is also said to have been removed from Nohata.

2.5:IV-j: Nandchand : Located on an island formed by the junction of two branches of the Kundo Nala with the Patna river, this village is about 60 kms., east-north-east of Damoh. Cunningham found here a temple of Matangesvara and of Astasakti. He assigned them to A.D. 700. An inscription of Kalacuri Karna was also noticed (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903).

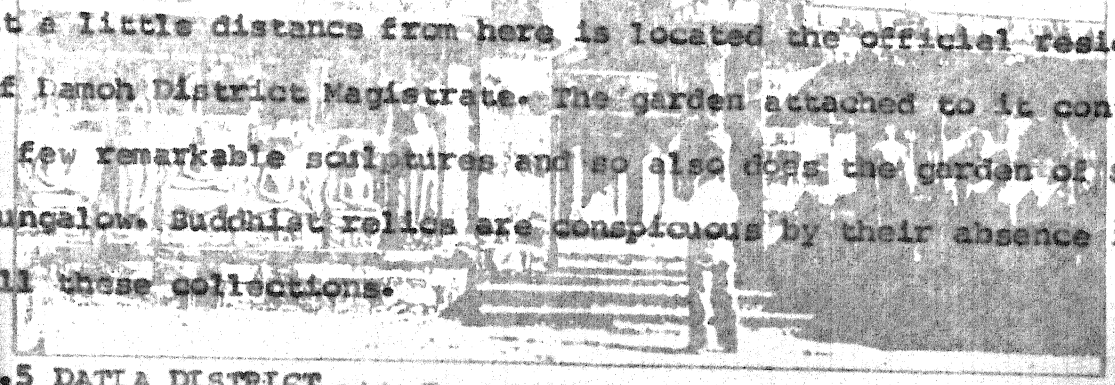
2.5:IV-k: Raneh : Situated 15 kms. south-east of Hata, the village is chiefly notable for its sculptured panels, scattered in and around. A two-storeyed structure does survive resembling Rukmini-matha of Kundalpur in design, plan and style. Nothing can be said of its dedication. Heaps of sculptures lying in front under a tree must have adorned its walls in times past. Easily identifiable among these are Visnu and Parvati.

Outside the village scattered near the Sagar tank are a number of panels belonging most probably to eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. Among these we have an icon of Ganesa and a representation of Sapta-matrkas. Walking about a kilometre to the east of the village, we come upon a place called Badi Devi. Within a brick-enclosure here are placed plenty of art-relics and architecural members. Note may be taken of a panel with Navagrahas, an icon of Ganesa and one of Visnu.

2.5:IV-1: Sakor : Associated with Alha in tradition, Sakor is about 13 kms. from Hata. It must have shot into prominence very early, as the sole surviving monument of our interest here is a Siva temple of the Gupta period. Save for the doorway to the sanctum, all else is lost. The extremely ornate and artistic door-frame bears the unmistakable mark of the Gupta artist. The enshrined linga is still in situ. Perhaps the temple has had no sikhara and all traces of a mandapa are missing, if there was one.

A little further away stands a Hanumana temple of modern make. Housed here in a corner are a few mutilated icons of early-medieval times, showing thus that the place continued to be of considerable importance even in post-Gupta times.

Our survey of Damoh district is by no means complete. In addition to the sites described above, Fatehpur, Gubra, Bamnakpur, Chitrakhera, Kethora, Pancham Nagar, Kaurpura, Ranoda and Pejgarh also retain antiquities of our interest. Finally, Damoh archaeological museum also houses numerous art-relics which include not only icons but door-lintels and door-jambs as well. At a little distance from here is located the official residence of Damoh District Magistrate. The garden attached to it contains a few remarkable sculptures and so also does the garden of S.P.'s bungalow. Buddhist relics are conspicuous by their absence in all these collections.



Jaina Temple (No. 12) Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

2.5 DATIA DISTRICT

2.5:V-a: Chhoti Badoni : Believed to have been founded about A.D.

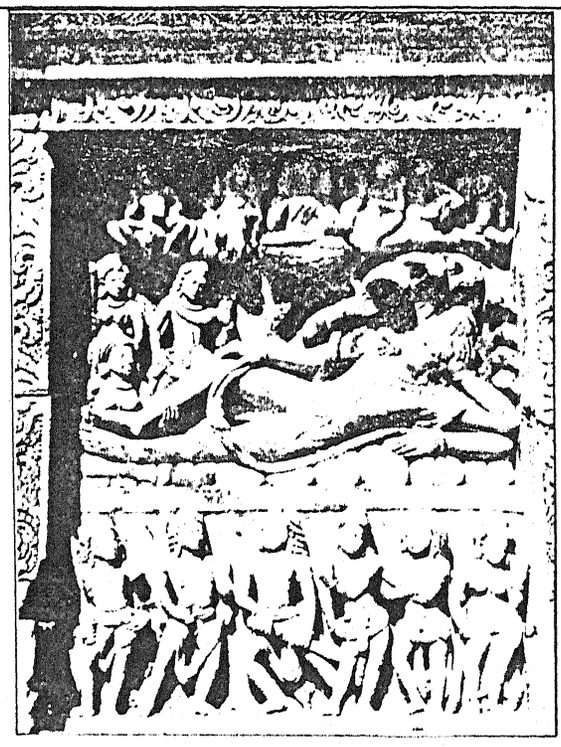


Fig. 2.36 Seṣaśayī Viṣṇu, Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

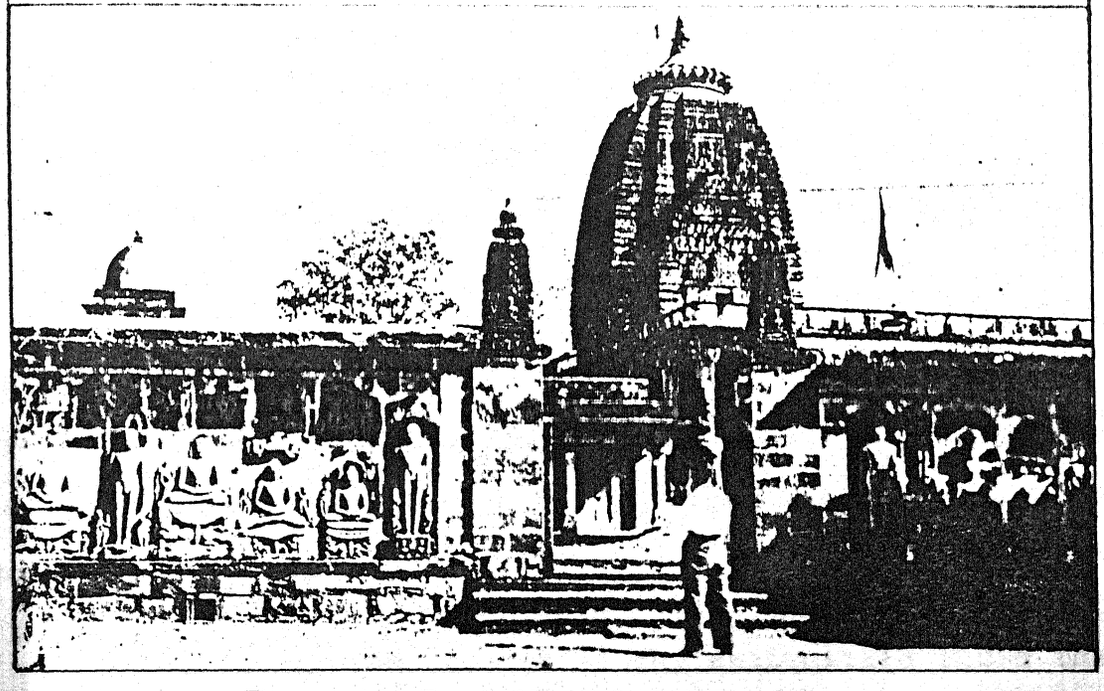


Fig.2.37 Jaina Temple (No. 12) Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

300 mainly on the basis of Gupta and Roman pottery recovered from the adjoining Guptesvara or Gopesvara hills, this small town lies 6 kms. to the north-east of Datia. Hard by the house of the former Diwan is a Jaina temple dedicated to Neminath. Completely deserted and dilapidated now, it is locally known as Buddha-mandira obviously due to resemblance between a tirthankara image and that of the Buddha.

The hillocks of Gopesvara, about a kilometre from the twon, possessed painted rock-shelters attesting the fact of early habitation.

The survey team of the Deptt. of A.I.H.C. & Archaeology University of Saugar, collected some clay-sealings bearing representation of miniature stupa in centre with a surrounding Brahmi legend in characters of sixth-seventh centuries A.D. Some traces of stupas can still be made out on the hill. Heaps of Gupta bricks lying nearby also speak on the point. Possibly the place had a Buddhist centre of learning and worship in Gupta times.

The Gopesvara Siva temple is actually a natural cave having a linga for worship. Nearby scattered are numerous incons and sculptures, assignable to the Pratihara and Kacchapaghata periods. Images of Visnu, Surya and Siva Ravanamugraha need notice among them.

This hurried account of the antiquities shows that from prehistoric times down to early-medieval, Chhoti Badoni continued

to be a place of considerable religious importance. What is further interesting, the relics surviving speak of all the three major religious sects having occupied it. The soil around being rocky and dry with very low water-spring, one wonders wherefrom came the economic support of these centres. The only conjecture that can be hazarded is the possibility of the place having been on a trade-route of early times.

2.5:V-b: Gujerra : But for a Minor-Rock-Edict of the Mauryan monarch, Gujerra has nothing to offer. The village is situated 15kms. south-east of Datia. The epigraph is incised on the face of a granite rock at the foot of a hill hardly distinguishable from hundreds of such rocks around in the vicinity of the village. A four-pillared canopy erected by the Archaeology Department helps us in spotting the rock. The importance of the inscription lies in preserving the personal name of the emperor (Ephigraphia Indica: 1892).

2.5:V-c: Charayah : The find of painted rock-shelters here by a survey team of the University of Sagar places this village on the archaeological map of the district. Located at a distance of about 11 kms. south-east of Datia town, Charavah has picturesque surroundings characterised by a beautiful sheet of water at the foot of the hills.

2.5:V-d: Keolari : About 8 kms. north of Datia on road to Seondha, the village yielded some punch-marked coins. The antiquity of the village is taken back to the Satavahana period. The icons found

Tarun Bharat Singh Dangarh (Dist. Lalitpur)

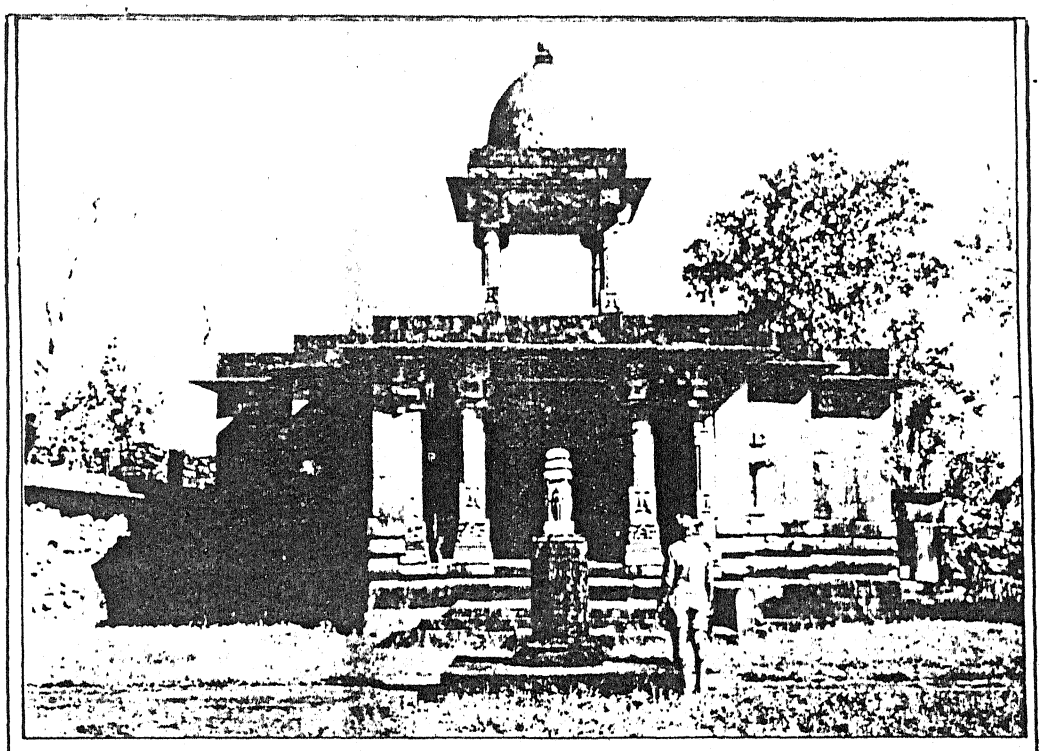


Fig. 2.[illegible] Jaina Temple (No. 15) Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

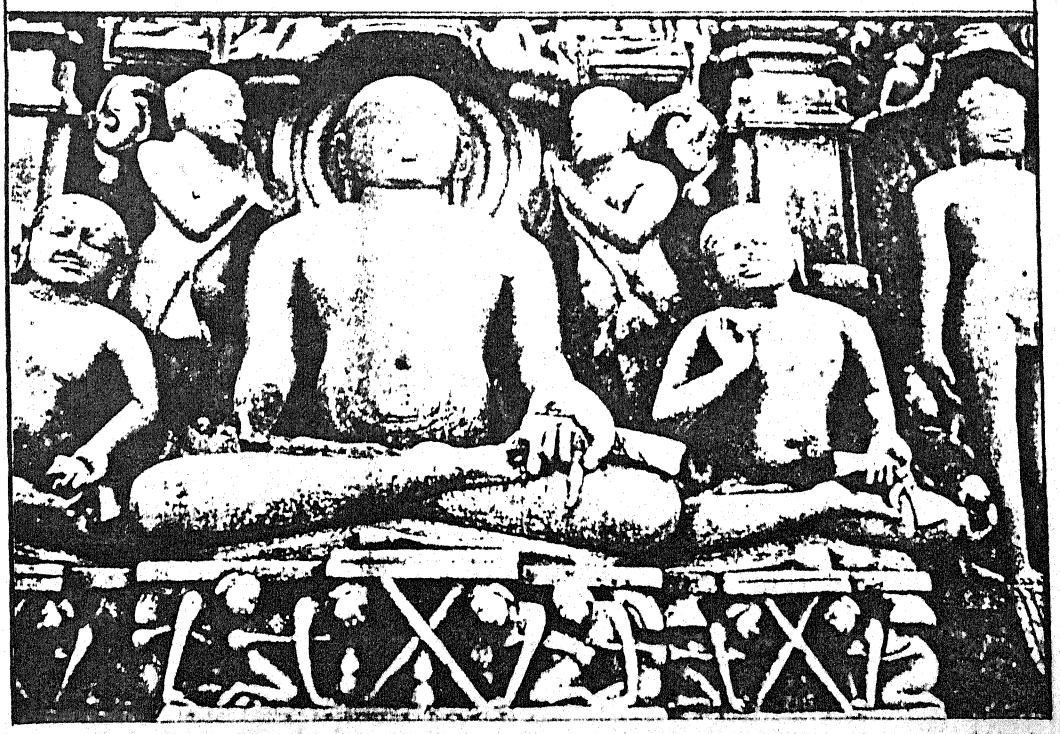


Fig. 2.[illegible] Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus, Deogari (Dist. Lalitpur).

here included those of Visnu, Gajari Siva with matrkas above him, ten-armed but headless Durga, Parvati, Haragauri, Ganesa, Varaha, Navagrahas, Kubera and tirthankara Parsvanatha (Indian Annual Archaeological Report: 1963-64). Remarkable among these was a massive icon of the monkey-god.

2.5:V-e: Padhuapura : About 3 kms. off Keolari, the village has a claim to mention for the find of an icon of Buddhist goddess Tara assignable to early-medieval times. The only other known image from here is that of Ardhanarisvara.

2.5:V-f: Senval : About 13 kms. east of Datia on Seondha road, the village has a collection of sculptures, Brahmanical in affiliation. These include carvings of Varaha, Visnu and Ganesa. An interesting find from here was a colosall linga with representation of divine figures now removed to a museum in Datia town (Indian Annual Archaeological Report: 1963-64). Oddly enough, the search for the museum proved in vain.

2.5:V-g: Unao : Standing on the bank of river Pahuj and famous for its sun-temple, the village is 25 kms. from Datia. The temple appears to have been erected recently but the enshrined sun-dial comes of the time when the deity was represented aniconically. The village people narrate a number of myths and traditions associated with the origin and history of the temple.

The sun-dial itself has nothing remarkable to interest us save its circular shape with raised points at the periphery,

standing, perhaps, for the planets.

The shallow niches of the cella contain a linga, an icon of Durga and a pot-bellied deity. The sun-dial is embedded in a high platform. Under a Pipal tree in the courtyard lie a few more sculptures indicating that the present temple occupies the place of an old one, most probably of early-medieval period.

2.5:V-h: Sonagir : A place of pilgrimage for the Jainas, it must have shot into prominence from the post-Gupta period. The Jaina temples more than seventy-five in number belong to medieval age but an image of Parvati, kept in temple No. 76 contains an inscription on its aureole in Siddha-matrka characters of about eighth century A.D.

Kinnargadh near Seondha is also a place of archaeological interest possessing sculptures of some Brahmanic deities. Before concluding we may note a collection of sculptures accommodated in a room of the P.R.O. office at Datia. Among these icons representing Gajalaksmi, Surya, Ganesa and Sapta-matrkas and a fragmentary slab bearing the well-known Buddhist theme- a wheel with a dear flanking- is especially noteworthy.

2.5:VI HAMIRPUR DISTRICT

2.5:VI-a: Mahoba : A railway-station on Jhansi-Manikpur railway-line and a seat of Candella government, the location of Mahoba is in latitude 25.38°N and in longitude 79.41°E. Cunningham did

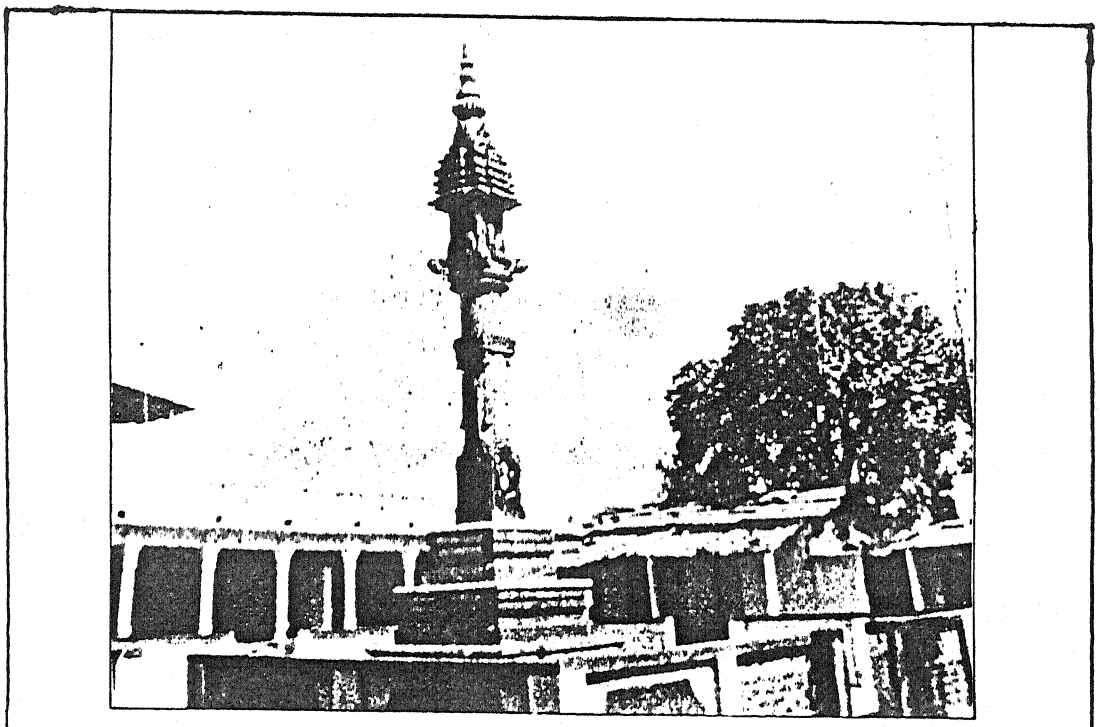


Fig. 2.40 Mānastambha, Deogarh (Dist. Lalitpur).

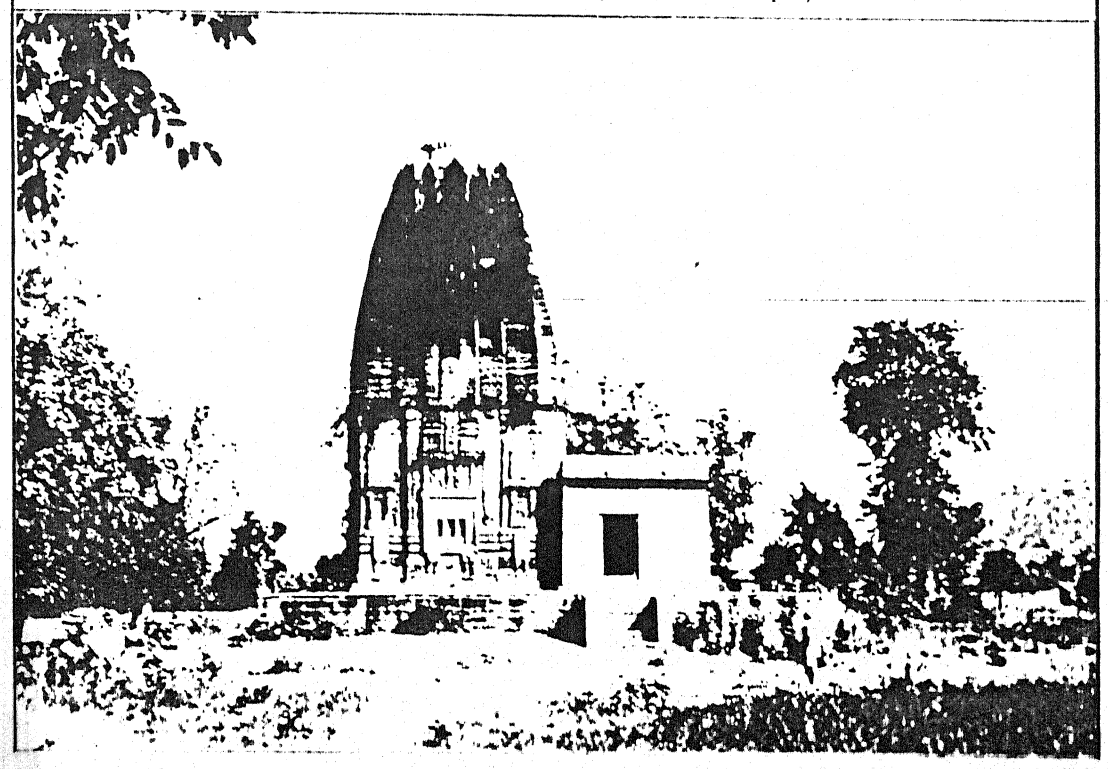


Fig. 2.41 Caturmukhanatha Temple, Nachna (Dist. Panna).

not doubt the popular tradition which holds king Candravarman as founder of this city (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). The king is supposed to have instituted a great festival here, and so, it came to be called Mahotsavanagara, shortening later on to Mahoba.

A lot of evidence bearing on our theme fell victim to religious fanaticism but the little that remains helps us in highlighting the main religious systems flourishing here. Majority of the temples were made into masjids or mutilated out of all recognition. To quote Cunningham, "The only Hindu building now standing is part of the palace of Parmala or Parmaddi Deva on the top of the hill fort which has been converted into a Masjid". In the Dargah of Pir Mubarak Shah and adjacent grave-yeard he counted no less than three hundred ten pillars of earlier temples. Neaby a black stone-bull was lying and the argha of a lingam had been fixed as a water spout in the terrace. Obviously a Siva temple stood earlier here, which could be ascribed to Kirtivarman on the basis of a record built into the wall of a tomb.

Among the surviving monuments of Mahoba, Kakra-matha may be taken first, occupying a rocky island in the north-western corner of the Madanasagar Lake, it is made of granite. In size, it is equal to the largest of Khajuraho temples. The sanctum is empty but the mark of a lingam having been fixed indicates its Saiva affiliation. Cunningham speaks of another dilapidated temple to the north of Kakra-matha and known as Madari-mandira connecting it with Lord Krsna, though the connection does not

appear convincing.

Mahoba was also a subsidiary seat of Manyadeva, the family deity of the Candellas who are believed to have brought his worsnip to Mahoba (Indian Archaeology: 1905). The temple dedicated to him is of modern make to all appearances and has none of the antiquities found in other Candella temples. It enshrines merely the rude and natural face of a rock.

Mahoba is dotted with hillocks all around. Whichever direction one moves out, rock-cut reliefs greet the eye. Of utmost importance among these larger than life representations is a massive sculpture of Gajasura-samharasiva depicted in a forceful manner. Not far from this mammoth carving we have full family of Siva on the face of another primeval rock. The gorgeous sculpture of Gajari Siva is locally knows as Siva-Tandava.

Of Jainism practically nothing has survived at Mahoba, but it did have a hold on Mahoba. Statues of Tirthankaras like Rsabhanatha, Padmaprabhu, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira have been shifted to Government Museum, Jhansi. The image of Rsabhanatha is dated in V.S. 1228 and that of Padmaprabhu in V.S. 1219. Variety of stones has been used to carve out these icons. Such is the sound given by a seated image of first Tirthankara on being struck that it seems to have been made of metal.

Fig. 2.4 Visnu Temple, Bhenswaha, (Dist. Sagar).

Fig. 2.5 Govardhanadhari Krsna, Bhenswaha (Dist. Sagar).

A few rock-cut reliefs behind the temple of Badi Candika include figures of the Jinas and Yaksas. Hard by is a natural cave

Fig. 2.43 Caturmukha Siva-Liṅga,
Nachna (Dist. Panna).

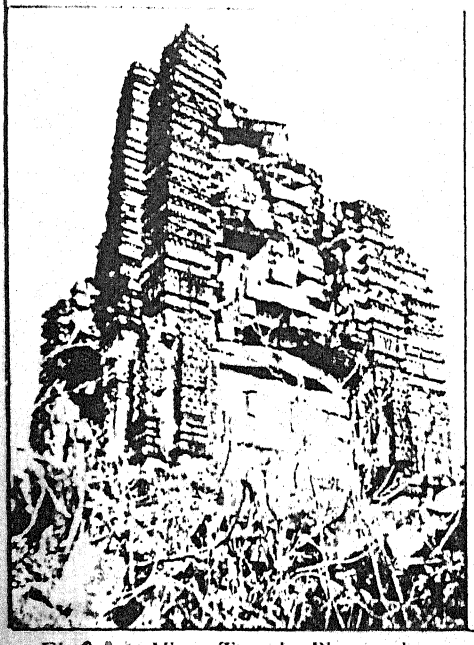


Fig. 2.44 Viṣnu Temple, Bhenswaha,
(Dist. Sagar).

Fig. 2.45 Govardhanadhari Krsna,
Bhenswaha (Dist. Sagar).

containing figures of Adinatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Yaksi Padmavati. The report of Cunningham also refers to some broken statues of Jain deities, a few with inscriptions. A Jain pratima-sarvatobhadrika stands in the garden attached to S.D.M.'s Bunglow.

Nothing absolutely survives now of Buddhism though it did flourish on the soil of Mahoba. The first of its traces came to Cunningham when he found a pedestal inscribed with well-known formula of Buddhist faith in characters of eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. Later on, incons of Buddha, Simhanada Lokesvara (Fig. 2.19). Padmapani Avalokitesvara (Fig. 2.20) and Tara were rescued from oblivion indicating that Buddhism had a fairly large following at Mahoba in the early-medieval period. It needs to be underlined that the icon of Simhanada Lokesvara now ranks one of the finest pieces ever produced by the Indian genius. All these relics have since been removed to Lucknow Archaeological Museum.

Saktism at Mahoba acquired and maintained considerable following. Sakti's Camunda form had a special appeal here and we meet with numerous independent representations of her. Most of them are rock-cut reliefs with varying degree of artistic excellence. Particular note needs to be taken of a loose but badly mutilated icon of the goddess lying in the garden of S.D.M.'s Bungalow. The icon is unique in showing the diety with sixty-four arms (Fig. 2.21) No such image is reported from anywhere alse (Prachya-Pratibha: 1977).

2.5:VI-b: Makarbai : Located 15 kms. north-west of Mahoba the village is notable for its Jaina temple. Of special significance here is the arrangement of three sanctums round a common mandapa. The temple like others of its time, is ruined but padmasana Jinas placed on the door-lintel leave us in no doubt about its dedication to Jaina faith.

2.5:VI-c: Rahilya : Lying at a distance of 3 kms. south-west of Mahoba the sole surviving early temple here was dedicated to Surya. The antiquity of the place is taken back to king Rahila-varman who is credited with having raised the shrine and from whom the village takes its name (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). The King was great-grand-father of Dhangadeva and ruled in the ninth century A.D.

Save for the sanctum and the mandapa all else has fallen. Devoid of any sculptural carvings and destitute of the presiding deity inside, the temple truly presents a moving spectacle with its crumbling stones and weather-worn walls. A little further on a platform is lying an icon of dancing Ganesa. On the outskirts of the village in a small temple of recent design, two excellent icons of Surya and Visnu (Fig. 2.22) have been accommodated. Both are accompanied by their respective parivara-devatas and attendants.

Before passing on to another district the Siva temple of Urwara may also be noticed. It is remarkable for having an

Fig. 2.46 Lakulīśa, Bharcha, (Dist. Sagar).

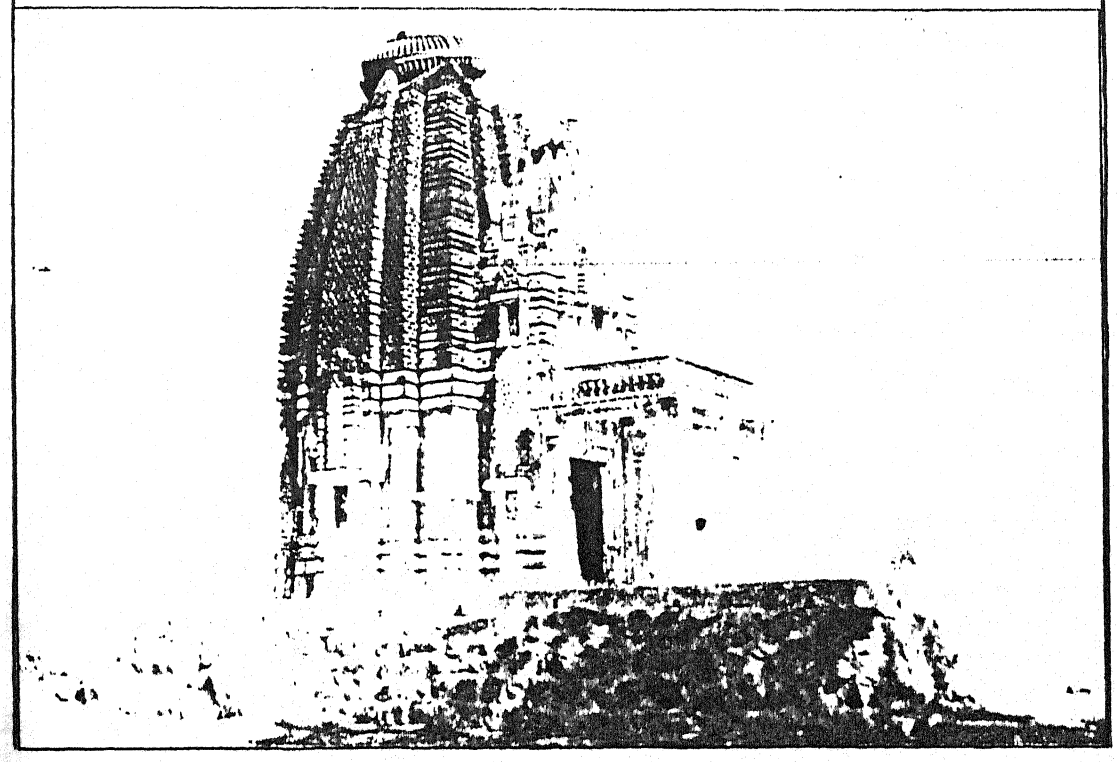


Fig. 2.47 Sun Temple, Markhera (Dist. Tikamgarh).

upper storey which few temples of Central India possess. Built entirely of dry granite masonry, it has projecting ardhamandapa in three of its faces. The upper story is merely a sanctum cella with doorway to the south as well as north. Nothing has survived within though its Saiva affiliation is beyond question. The walls are devoid of sculptural bands. The temple could be included among the earliest of Candella shrines (Fig. 2.23).

2.5 JHANSI DISTRICT

2.5:VII-a: Baruasagar : The only monument meriting our study here is a Visnu temple within an enclosure standing outside the town beside the road leading from Jhansi to Chhatarpur. Occupying the high ground with sprawling fields all around and lording over the landscape, it casually attracts our attention even while passing in bus (Fig. 2.24).

Though the sanctum no longer possesses the presiding deity, its dedication to Visnu is doubtless on the basis of his occupying the Lalatabimba of the door-lintel. The tall, curvilinear and majestic Sikhara is intact and should be counted among the very few surviving Sikharas of Gurjara-Pratihara period in the region.

2.5:VII-b: Buroaon : Here is a classic case of chance playing a part in discovering the past. Some cowherds grazing in the vicinity of the village came upon a few sculptures on digging

a mound. Systematic excavations at the site followed and were rewarded by the remains of some temples becoming bare. Actually, the site was little more than a small unpretentions mound of bricks and brick-bats on the bank of the revulet Utari-Chiglaua. The relics recovered included representations of Visnu, Kartikeya and Ganesa. The excavations uncovered outline foundations of two temples, circular in plan with a projection to one side signifying probably the entrance part (I A A R: 1965-66). Among the antiquities recovered were two door-jambs and two door-lintels bearing figures of Garuda and Ganesa respectively in the Lalatabimba On grounds of style the sculptures could be assigned to tenth-eleventh centuries A.D.

2.5:VII-c: Dariyapura : Practically now a suburb of the city of Jhansi, here was found a hoard of 318 coins of Mahipala and Madanavarman, bearing a legend on the obverse and Laksmi on the reverse (IARR:1962-63).

2.5:VII-d: Sarkar : The village yielded as many as eighteen sculptures on excavations which now form part of Khajuraho Museum collection. Needing note among these are icons of Skandamata, Varahi and Ganesa.

Before passing on to another district, mention must be made of the palace museum housed in the heart of Jhansi which contains upwards of 500 sculptures and architectural members in varying states of preservation. A good many of them come from the famous Candella sites of Chandpur and Dudhahi located in

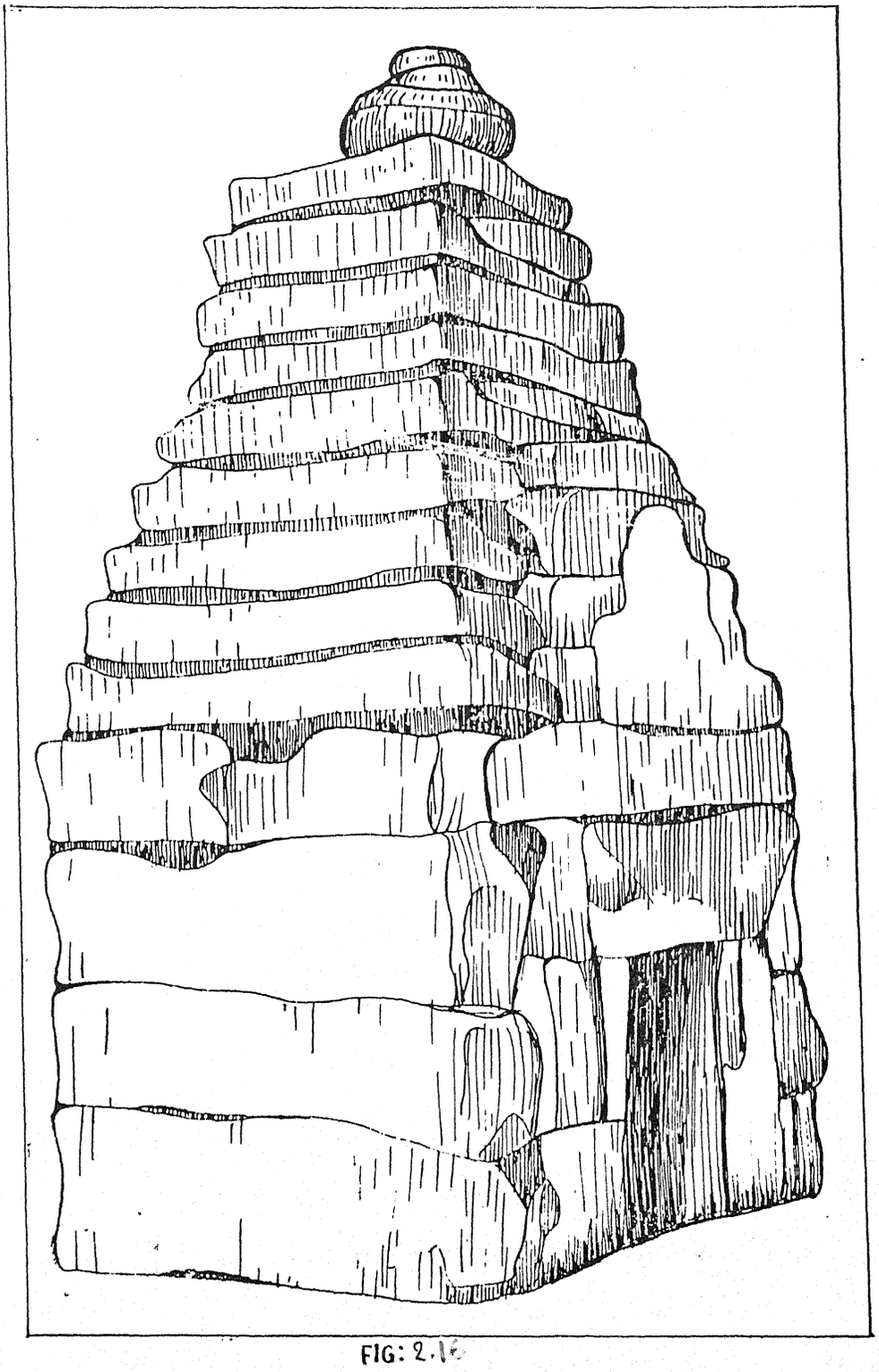


FIG: 2.16

Lalitpur district. The collection includes icons of all principal Brahmanical deities and Jain Tirthankaras. Hailing from Dudhahi-Chandpur, here we see certain vyuha icons of Visny like Damodara, Kesava, Narayana and sridhara which are not easily available in North India. An eight-armed image of Visny in the palace Museum collection is particularly noteworthy.

2.5:VIII JALAUN DISTRICT

2.5:VIII-a: Kalpi : Tradition recognises it to be the place associated with one of the greatest poets of India, Maharshi Veda Vyas whose masterpiece, the Mahabharata, is the longst epic of the world. Agreeing with this tradition, K.D. Bajpai holds that the epic came to be composed at Kalpi (Bajpayee, Krishna Dutta: 1957). A mound near here known appropriately as Vyasa mound has yielded numerous icons and art-relics. Among the images we could name are Gaja-Laksmi, Surya and Visnu who now have an honoured place in the collection of Mahatma Gandhi Hindi Sangrahalaya, Kalpi. Note may be taken that terracotta figurines in hundreds are part of this collection but no proper record of their find-place has been maintained. It is difficult to say how many of them come from within the district. Nevertheless, they can not be left out of consideration since, in all likelihood, those coming from beyond must have been found in areas adjoining, thus not very far from the frontiers of Bundelkhand. Worthy of mention among these terracottas are fine figures of Mother-goddess, Mahisa-mardini and Ganesa. Accommodated beside them are two

miniature lithic representations of stupa in round, bearing four Buddha figures one on each side. Two of them sit in dyana-mudra one in bhusparsa-mudra and the remaining one in dharmacakra-mudra.

2.5:IX: LALITPUR DISTRICT

2.5:IX-a: Banpur : The village owes its name to the mythical demon Banasura who is supposed to have selected it as his capital. Situated in latitude 24.43°N. and longitude 78.45°E on the banks of the Jamini river at a distance of about 15 kms. from Mehroni, Banpur is better known now as Atisaya-ksetra of the Jains. Naturally, therefore, the sole surviving monument of our interest here is a Jaina temple curiously called Banpur Ke Linga. As a matter of fact, it is Sahasrakuta-Caityalaya intended to symbolise 1008 auspicious qualities of a Jina's body. Modest though in size, with richly carved doorways and jangha it has an appeal and charm of its own.

In its sprawling courtyard are scattered statues of Brahmanical deities and Jaina worthies. A rare representation among these is that a Adinatha with one Caubisi on each side. Flanking the chief deity on either side are Parsvanatha and Suparsvanatha making the whole composition signify the concept of triple Caubisi, those of the past and future alongwith that of the present (Fig. 2.25). At a distance of 2 kms. to the north-east of this Caityalaya, a Ganesa temple stands inside a neigh-

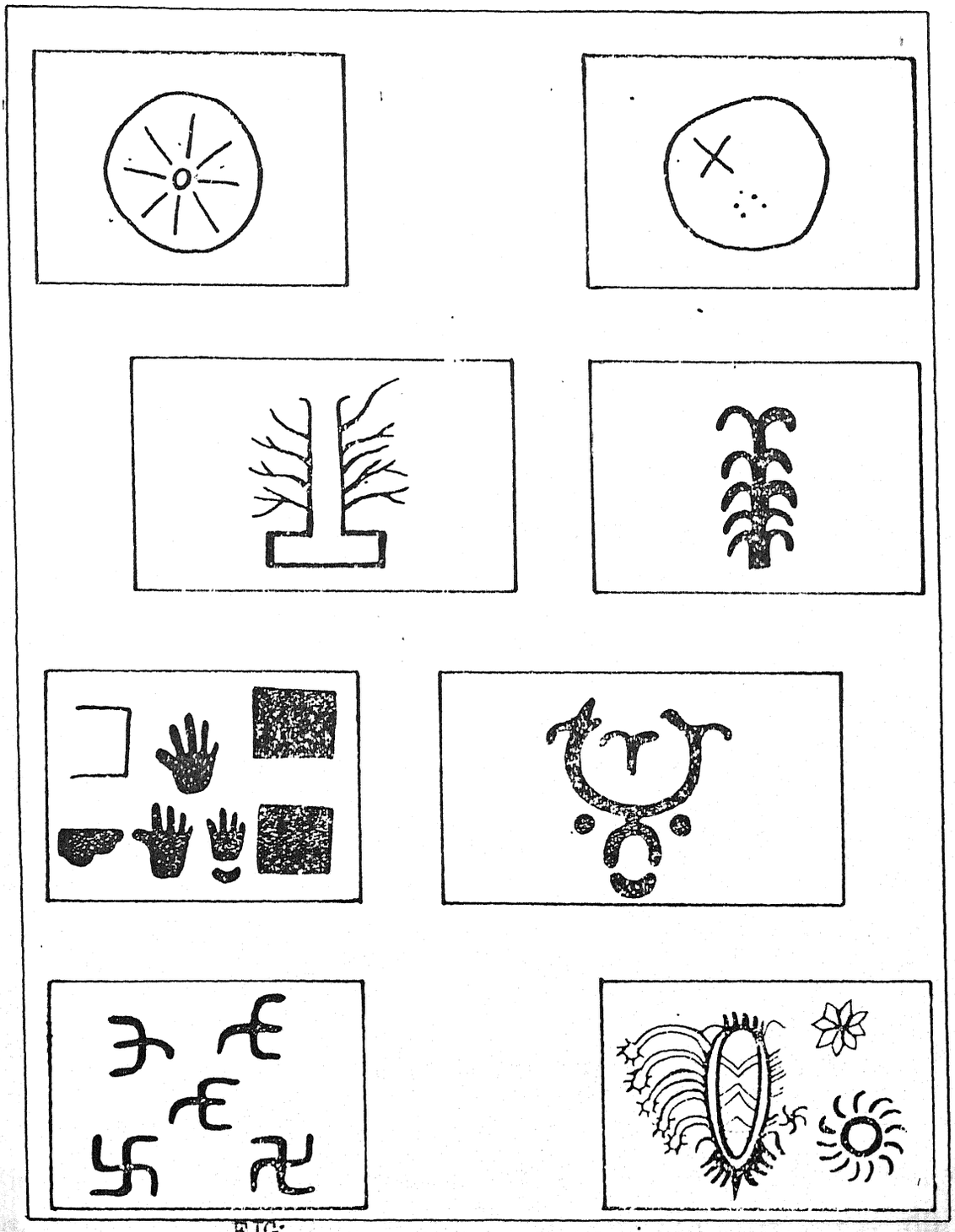


FIG. 2. Religious Symbols in Rock-Paintings of Bundelkhand

bouring village. Only the chief image has claim to our notice. Endowed with no less than twenty-four arms, and holding a variety of weapons and objects, the god has found here a remarkable representation.

2.5:IX-b: Chandpur : Forsaken, forgotten and forlorn, this religious centre of the Candellas is situated in latitude 24.30°N and longitude 78.18°E. The surviving monuments of this place stand close by the railway-line. Chandpur is 2 kms. away from the Dhaurra Station of Central Railway between Bina and Jhansi junctions. Bearing a deserted and dismal look, the place is worth-visiting at least once to have an idea of the devastation wrought by the neglect of man and notoriety of nature. Conspiring in collusion with time, nature proclaims her victory here.

Standing close to the railway-line and greeting the eye of passing passengers is a Brahmanic temple locally known as "Chhoti Belmari". Save for the sanctum, still in situ, all else has fallen prey to Powers of destruction. Since the icon inside is missing, it is difficult to decide upon its dedication. Fine figures of Gajalaksmi, Ganesa and Kubera bedeck its jangha.

A few yards to the south-west we come upon the remains of Sahasralingesvara temple locally called Hajaria Mahadeva. Perhaps it was a pancayatana temple originally, since two small shrines still survive in the corners of its courtyard. The main temple enshrines a colossal linga which is beautifully

carved with figures of Visnu, Surya, Ganesa and Gauri, one in each side, in addition to the numerous miniature lingas. Obviously the temple was dedicated to the syncretic worship simultaneously paid to the five principal deities of Brahmanic faith. Our view gets further weightage from the fact that some of the Smarta lingas (Fig. 2.26) lie outside in the courtyard. The temple is ruined, except for the sanctum and the mandapa which have wonderfully withstood the onslaughts of elements.

Facing the temple is a plain mandapa in which a beautifully carved and fully caparisoned figure of Nandi is accommodated. The icon is unique since the artist has shown a boy-figure wearing a lion-cloth and rudraksa ornaments and attempting to climb the deity from its left side (Fig. 2.27) .

The two subsidiary shrines, noted above, were dedicated to Visnu and Ganesa respectively. We need hardly mention that Chandpur must have been a prominent centre of Smarta-Puja. Mahendra Varma made a special study of the art of Chandpur, (Mahendra Varma: 1973), and yet has neither noticed the Nandi icon, mentioned above, nor the cult of the Pentad, to which the Sahasralingesvara temple was definitely dedicated.

Note may be taken that the Sahasralingesvara temple is situated near the embankment on a lake. At the end of the embankment stands the Varaha temple of which hardly any trace is left except for the rudely formed figure of boar bearing an inscription

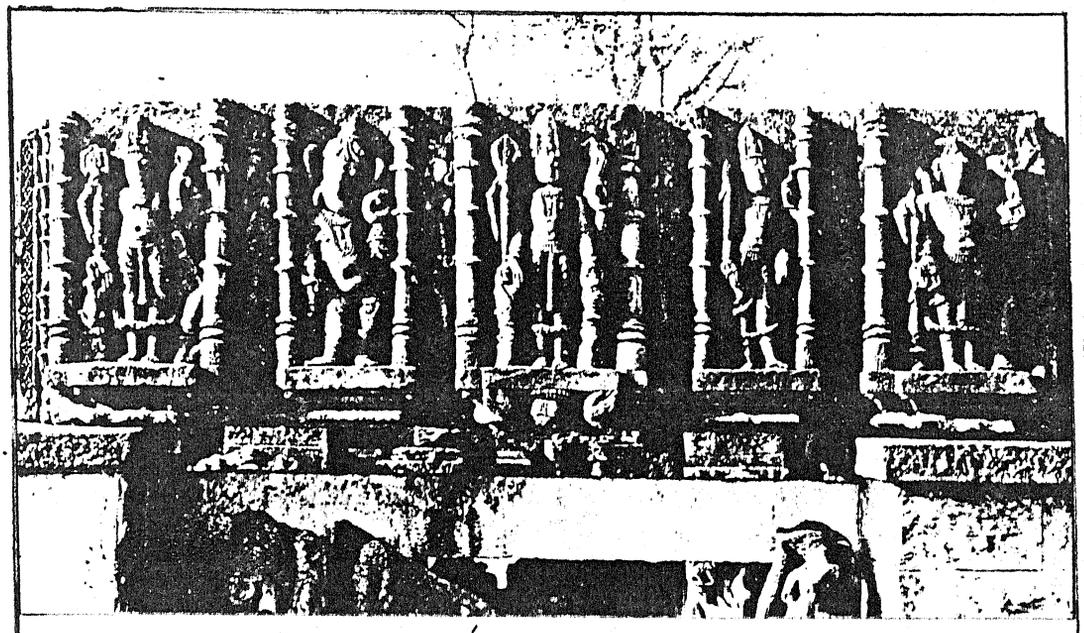


Fig. 2-[illegible] Door-lintel of a Śiva temple (Khajuraho) (Dist. Chhatarpur).

Fig. 2-[illegible] Sadāśiva, Khajuraho (Dist. Chhatarpur).

Fig. 2-[illegible] Kāpālika Teacher, Khajuraho (Dist. Chhatarpur).

on the front of its pedestal. The record is dated in V.S. 1205 (A.D. 1148) thus belonging to the reign of Madanavarman (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903, x). The board is represented as standing on a tigerskin placing four feet over the four paws of the ferocious animal. Underneath the skin is carved a Naga, Another inscription is engraved on a dedicatory pillar belonging to the temple of Siva. The document is undated.

Walking a little to the south of this group, one comes upon "Surru Marhia", a Visnu temple, identifiable only on the basis of his figure in the Lalatabimba of the door-lintel on the sanctum doorway (Fig. 2.28).

Going still further towards the south, one finds another group of temples locally known as Badi Belmari. All of them turn out to be Vaisnava temples. Save for their sanctums and shallow mandapas nothing has survived. Chandpur has yielded rare representations of Nrsimha and Vamana. In one panel the former is shown fighting face to face with the demon. Hiranyakasipu. Very few incons of Lord Rama we get, but from Chandpur several beautiful examples have come to light.

The Jaina group is located across the railway-line (Fig. 2.29). Meriting mention here is only the temple of Santinatha, of which only the mandapa is in situ. Another temple dedicated perhaps to Adinatha, is just a small room and the colossal Kayatsarga Jina is studded in the back-wall, barely

visible in darkness. Outside the room is lying a lalitasana Ambika. Our survey of Chandpur temples leaves us in no doubt that it was as good a temple-town as Khajuraho even though the temples here are far inferior in plan, elevation and ornamentation. It is not possible to ascertain whether these temples, like their Khajuraho counterparts, came into being through royal initiative only. A good deal of funds must have flowed in to finance the fashioning of these shrines. We are yet to come across the copper-plates or other records by which a part of revenue was made over to the temple priests for their maintenance. Finally Chandpur, like Khajuraho, lacked holiness of location and fails to find a place in the list of accepted tirthas of early medieval times.

2.5:IX-c: Dudhahi : Buried in a thick forest and situated beside a large sheet of water in latitude 24.25°N and longitude 78.24°E. Dudhahi is 6 kms. away from the Dhaurra railway station of Central Railway. Bearing a deserted and dilapidated look and making a moving spectacle, the remains of Dudhahi eloquently speak of its former glory and grace. Devoid now of an access to communication links, the village is believed to have stood on an important trade route in times past. Al-beruni has referred to it as a big city. A Jhansi inscription mentions a village Dugdhakupya which could very well be taken for modern Dudhahi.

Fig. 1.50 Temple group, Dudhahi (Dist. Lalitpur)

The chief group of temples is located to the east of the present village, commanding a fine view of the Ramsagar Lake

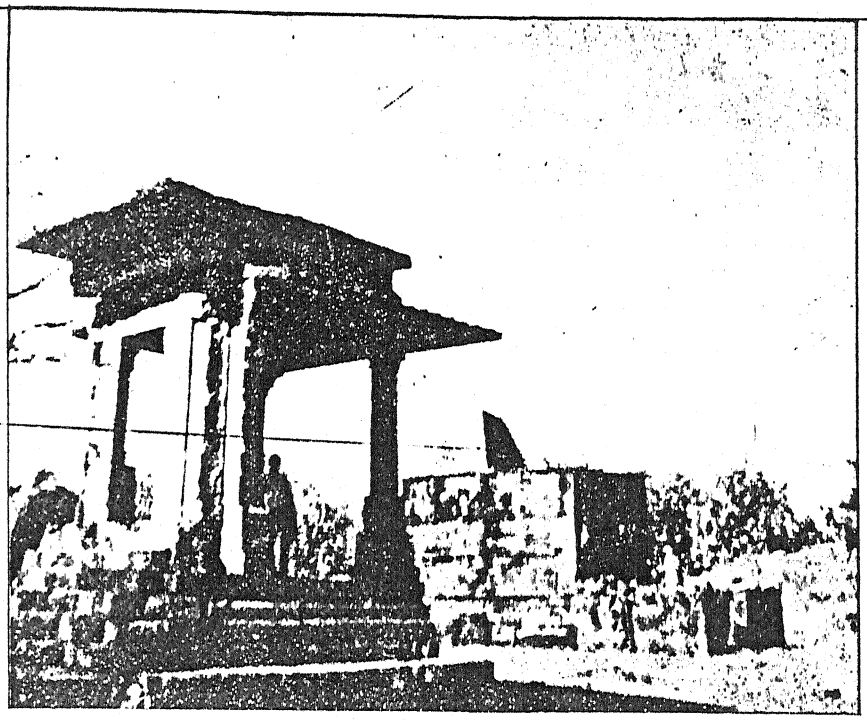


Fig. 2-29 Jaina Remains, Chandpur (Dist. Lalitpur).

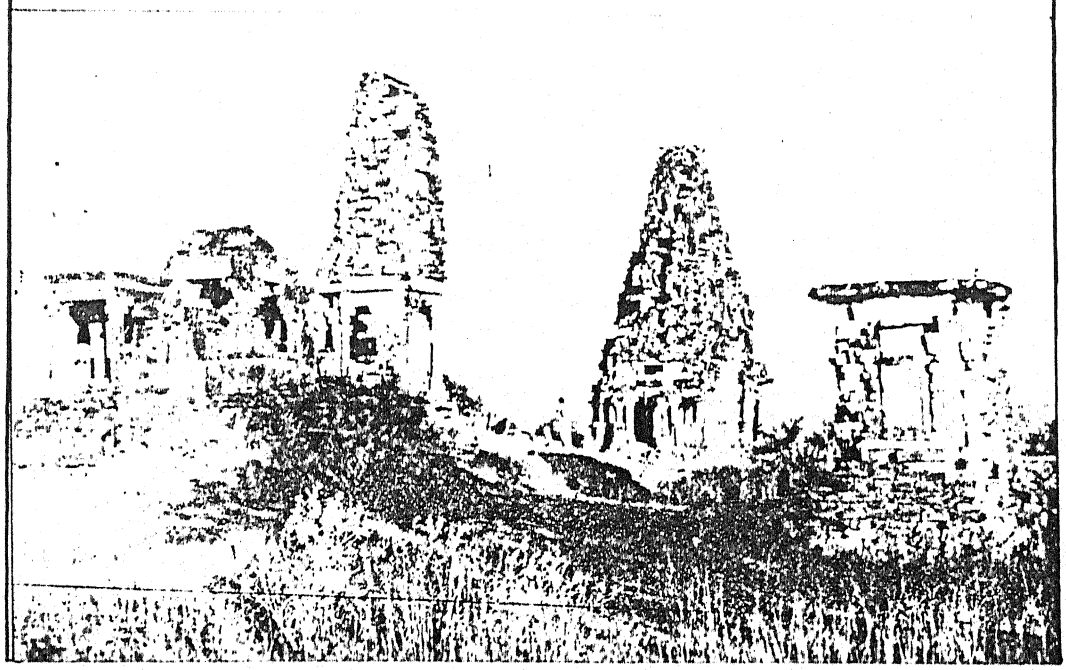


Fig. 2-30 Temple group, Dudhahi (Dist. Lalitpur).

that imparts a unique beauty to the place (Fig. 2.30). The survivals here consist of two temples with spires, two Siva temples, one Varaha temple, two Jaina temples and a Brahma temple. Of the Siva temples only the sanctum stands in situ. The Varaha shrine is merely a pillared-canopy under which a huge statue of the Boar is accommodated. Cunningham speaks of two more Varaha images.

Parswanatha was the presiding tirthankara in one of the Jaina temples, the other probably being dedicated to Adinatha. Of the former only the sanctum survives, whereas in the latter a part of the mandapa is also in situ.

The largest temple at Dudhahi is built on a peculiar plan, for which no parallel exists elsewhere. In form it is a cross with two long limbs and two short limbs meeting in the middle. The central portion consists of two rooms with a doorway between them and no provision for a back-wall against which a statue could be placed. The casing of the spire has fallen. The lintels, too, are missing and so also the pedestals. Cunningham thought it to be a Jaina temple wantonly wrecked by the hostile Grahmanas but there is hardly any basis for such a conclusion. He, however, was all praise for its architectural design as well as structural symmetry and beauty.

Brahma temples are very rare in India. The so-called Brahma temple of Khajuraho, was originally dedicated to Visnu.

Dudhahi has one and probably it is the only available example in Bundelkhand. The porch, the mandapa and the sanctum have survived. A three-headed, bearded figure of the God riding goose can be made out in the Lalatabimba of the door-lintel, confirming the fact of its dedication to Brahma. Lending further weight to our assumption is a pilgrim's record in which the Caturmukha and his consort Savitri have been paid obeisance by the devotees. Of Saktism nothing now survives at Dudhahi but in times past it was stronghold of the Yogini Kaula cult. Very few Causatha-Yogini temples have so far been discovered, one such rare shrine stood at Dudhahi (P.K. Sharma: 1978).

Interesting as it might seem, all the available inscriptions from Dudhahi belong to the Brahma temple. Barring the one already noted, we get six more records (Indian Archaeology: 1905) in nagari characters of about eleventh century A.D. put up by Devalabdhi, son of Krsna and Asarvva and grand-son of the great Candrella king Yasovarman. He claims to have erected the shrine. They give us Candrella, a Sanskritic variant of the name Candella. The presence of a prince of the royal family at Dudhahi marks it out a provincial head quarters of the Candella kingdom. The view gets greater weightage if Krsna of the above records be taken identical with the master of minister Vacaspati, mentioned in Bhilsa stone inscription (Epigraphia Inica: 1892). The minister claims to have killed a Sabara chief Simha and restored the local chiefs their lost dominions.

Be that as it may, Dudhahi records demonstrate that a few of the temples owed their erection to royal munificence. The second group of temples is located about a km. to the west of this group in the midst of a dense jungle. An eerie silence hangs around. They are known as Baniya Ki Barata or Baniyas's marriage party with reference to the belief that Jaina Baniya Depat-Khepat financed their raising.

One more rare temple we get here is consecrated to the monkey god, Hanumana, whose huge but headless statue presents a pathetic sight to the on-looker, standing, as it does, amid heaps of sculptures and architectural members that once constituted a shrine for it (Fig. 2.31). A Jaina temple having been here can be clearly made out from the remains. Cunningham noted here a temple of Visnu and a Varaha image in addition to what now survives (Archaeological Survey Report).

To the north of the main group within a brick-enclosure we come upon some more carvings. An icon of Ganesa is unique in having the figure of Ardhanarisvara at the top of its prabhavati flanked by Brahma and Visnu present with their consorts (Fig.2.32).

2.5:IV-d: Deogarh : Located in latitude 24.32°N. and longitude 78.15°E the hill fort was known by a number of names in times long past. Inscriptions preserve at least three of them- Sri Santinatha Tirtha, Luacchagiri and Kirtigiri (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Lying 30 Kms. south-west of the town of Lalitpur, the

fort now is a well-known tirtha of the Jainas who have continuously and consistently maintained their connection with it. Few places own such natural beauty in Bundelkhand as that of Deogarh. The lapping waters of the Betwa flowing with melodious tune, the sprawling verdant woods all round and the charming lofty hills characterising the landscape, create and radiate joy and purity towards the pilgrim searching salvation from worldly worries and woes.

Prominent among the monuments here is the Gupta temple (Fig. 2.33) better known as the Dasavatara temple of Sagar Matha. Known to be one of the earliest sikhara shrines of India and hailed as a gem of architecture, it was a rich treasure of [illegible] and sculptural art. Panels of indescribable beauty and immortal art depicting Gajendramokṣa (Fig. 2.34), Nara-Narayana (Fig. 2.35) and Śeṣaśayi Viṣṇu (Fig. 2.36) decorate its jangha. Excavations carried out in the courtyard have yielded numerous sculptural representations of scenes from the Ramayana and Kṛṣṇalila. Matchless in art and magnificent in mythological content, the temple marks out a significant stage in the history of religion being the earliest example of pancayatana variety.

The Jaina remains occupy the south-eastern portion of the Deogarh fort and are enclosed by an inner surrounding wall, the date of which is not known. The village of Deogarh is a few hundred yards west of the hill. When Cunningham came, the name

was applied to the village only, the fort was known as Karnali. The fort is believed to have been built around 997 A.D. during the period of Kirtivarman. To all appearances about 35 to 40 temples must have dotted the site, though the official number fixes the figure at 31. The size and shape vary greatly. Large temples with tall sikharas stand side by side with tiny cells not allowing an adult even to stand erect.

Only Nos. 12 and 15, dating from about ninth century A.D. possess artistic ornamentation (Fig. 2.37 & 2.38), the rest being severely plain save for the door-frame which is usually beautifully carved. The concept of North Indian temple architecture finds lithic translation only in case of two viz., No. 18 and No. 28. All others are what may be called hall temples consisting only of a square or rectangular room. An inscription engraved on the inner door-frame of temple No. 12 records that the place was known after the presiding deity of the temple as Sri Santinatha Tirtha in tenth century A.D. (Clause, Bruhn: 1969).

Earliest among the dated Deogarh inscriptions comes from the period of Bhoja Pratihara put up on a pillar in temple No. 12. As a matter of fact, upwards of 400 inscriptions lie incised in the area covered by Jaina tirtha comple (S.P. Gupta, & K.S. Ramchandran: 1977) but a great many of them being dedicatory in nature we can hardly extract anything to our purpose. By far the largest number consists merely of a couple of words not extending upto even a normal dedication.

Of greater importance and deeper significance than the temples or inscriptions, therefore, are one thousand odd images accommodated inside as well as outside temples- a priceless but large legacy indeed. Part of this treasure is made up of Jina-icons and part of lesser worthies like Bharata Cakravarti, Bahubali, Acaryas, Upadhyayas (Fig. 2.39) and Yaksa-pairs. In the history of Jaina art and iconography, Deogarh, marks out many a milestone. In one of the Jina-icons, the artist has verily worked wonder. Image No. 13 has been hailed as highest-production of Indian genuis to be classed with the world-famous Sarnath Buddha (Clause, Bruton: 1969). Manastambhas constitute as good a source of Jaina art as the temples. One of them now shifted to the Dharmashala courtyard, is an exeellent piece (Fig. 2.40). There are three steep flights of steps hewn in the cliff leading to the river Betwa. They are known as ghatis. Rock-cut sculpture of Deogarh has been executed here, the earliest dating back to the Gupta period. Naharghati is notable among them being carved with twelve niches containing lingas and other deities. Sapta-matrkas accompanied by Virabhadra and Ganesa maker part of the sculpture here. The Ghati also bears a record from Gupta times and two in shell characters.

To the south of the hill is situated the Rajaghati or Katighati, preserving an inscription of king Kirtivarman's time (Epigraphia Indica: 1892) and representations of Visnu, Surya, Ganga Yamuna, Leksmi and Saptamatrikas. The third Ghati has

distinguishing epithet, Siddha-ki-Gupha and bears a inscription in later Nagari characters. The cave contains a few premitive drawings and, hard by, a figure of Mahisamardini is carved. At Hathi Darvaja figures of Parsvanath and a Yaksa couple have been accommodated in niches. A baoli below the south-west corner of the fort also has some relics round it.

Buddhism, too, managed a foothold at Deogarh as is evident from the discovery of a single Buddha icon from the debris lying between the Jaina temples.

In south-west corner of the fort a temple dedicated to Varaha and assignable to the Gupta period struggles hard to survive.

At no stage of her history, Deogarh had the honour to be the capital of a kingdom. A prince of the imperial Gupta family is believed to have lived here and built the Dasavatara temple. (P.K. Agrawal: 1968) but the evidence allows only of a conjecture. No prince of the Pratihara and Candella houses had his head-quarters here and in none of their copper-plates we have a reference. One wonders, therefore, who financed the making and maintaining of Deogarh shrines. We do have a Candella minister in one record who claims to have constructed the fort as well as a flight of steps but it is not clear if he did so in his private or official capacity. Financing of the construction of fort involved fabulous funds. With Jainism we can walk on surer groudd

having numerous records to help us on the point. The whole of their huge holy complex owned absolutely to the faith and finances poured forth by pilgrims.

2.5:IX-e: Madanpur : If name is any indication, the town was fathered by king Madanavarman. But an inscription of earlier period found at the place proves its prior existence (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). Obviously, Madanavarman only renamed it.

Situated south-west of Mehroni at a distance of 36 kms. the original town of Madanpur stood to the north of the present one now dotted with Jaina temples. Collectively spoken of as Pancamari, being five in number, the temples offer us nothing save a few icons of ancient times. Walking a little further north we come upon three Jaina temples known to be the oldest at the place. One of them has an inscribed pedestal with fish-symbol bearing the date V.S. 1212. Another preserves icons of Adinatha. Candraprabhu, and Sambhavanatha and a long record. The document is dated V.S. 1206 and mentions Madanpur. Further, northwest to this trio, we have two more temples.

Brahmanical monuments of Madanpur lie to the north-west of a large sheet of water. Their dedication to Visnu and Siva seems beyond question as Cunningham saw a colossal board and a life-size bull lying close by (Archaeological Survey Report:1903). Of the two, the smaller one has the record referring to the name Jejakabhukti-mandala and victory of the Cahamana king Prthviraja

over Paramardi in V.S. 1239. Curiously enough, the temples are called "Alha's Kachahari". A chief Alhana Deva does figure in another inscription of the temple, though we cannot be sure of his being identical with the hero in tradition. The temples make a sorry spectacle since nothing survives save their mandapas. A little to the north-east we have one more Saiva shrine housing a ten-armed Siva and ten-armed Camunda.

2.5:IX-f: Siron Khurd : Siyadoni of bygone times, the village is situated in latitude 24.50°N and longitude 78.23°E at a distance of 18 kms. west-north-west of Lalitpur.

An early-medieval centre of idustry and trade, it also served as seat of a Pratihara governor at least for four generations as is attested by the solitary stones inscription found here (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). The lengthy record is indeed a rare document demonstrating, as it does, the economic base and role of the temples in town life. Hardly any professional class of the town is missing in the record that remains a sort of memorial, containing twenty-seven donations made over the decades by traders and artisans providing for the requisite materials of worship in the temples, named in each case.

The second part of the inscription opens with an invocation to Lord Ganesa and a certain Damodara is said to have founded a temple of Murari now identified with a ruined structure at the neighbouring village Sategaon.

2.5:X PANNA DISTRICT

2.5:X-a: Ajaygadh : Difficult of access and destitute of inhabitants, this hill-fort is located 31 kms. west of Panna. The original name figuring in its records is 'Jayapura Durgga (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903) verily a city of victory.

Even while climbing one can not miss the crude carvings on the wall beside the path. The deities depicted include Hanumana, Surya, Durga, and panels containing twenty-four Jinas and sapta-matrikas. Near the Northern gate two large bodies of water bearing the name Ganga-Yamuna greet our eye. Another tank Bhutesvara is situated to the north-east. Scores of sculptures are piled here, the only notable being that of Sesasayi Vishnu.

At the southern end is Paramala Tal. The chief temple complex of Ajaygadh was constructed here earning the curious local appellation "Chandeli Mahal". All the shrines here face west. Two of them have Lord Siva as the presiding god and the other two have Vishnu. Shorn sadly of much of their majesty and magnificence, these temples consist only of their mandapas and sanctums.

Ajaygadh is rich in rock-cut sculptures. Those executed near Tarhaoni Gate represent Astasaktis, seven sitting, the eighth standing. They are rudely rendered with names inscribed below. Here we also have the record of Bhojavarman. Among

other sculptures, reference could be made to some Jinas, a cow suckling her young one, the goddess Sasthi holding a child and flanked by the pigs. Symbols of palm, seven in number, need particular note.

2.5:X-b: Bilhagaon : Approachable from Saleha in Pabai tehsil, the village stands on the banks of river Siddha. Appropriately enough, a temple of Siddhanatha Siva attracts our eye to a hill towering the town. Pancaraiha in plan and elevation, the shrine with a sikhara a surviving, has also a mandapa, an antarala and a garbhagrha as its organic parts.

2.5:X-c: Mohendra : Set in picturesque surroundings with beautiful backdrop of hills, the village is situated 47 kms. south of Panna town. Not a single shrine survives now but judging from the number of sculptures and architectural members littered in the lanes and by-lanes as well as vicinity of the village, a dozen or so must have dotted the site in times long past. Sorry becomes the spectacle when one comes upon beautiful pieces being trodden upon by the passers-by with utmost indifference and insensibility to their artistic importance or historic worth. A few fortunate ones have the honour to be huddled together under trees exposed to the elements all through the year.

The largest of collections is dumped inside a dark and dingy cell, hurriedly planned and clumsily constructed near a tank. Meriting mention the representations here are yogasan Visnu,

alingesana Uma-Mahesa, Vamana and Ganesa. Door-jambs bearing river-goddesses and door lintels preserving Visnu and Siva in their lelatabimbas speak of several temples having been here.

Lying half-buried under earth in a by-lane is a massive but excellent icon of a Jina. Beneath a Neem tree on a mud-platform sit several yaksa-pairs and other worthies.

To the east of the village inside a Kabirpanthi-baoli, some more Jaina relics have been built into the wall. Remarkable among these are a carving of Yaksi Ambika and another of firthankara Parsvanatha. Hard by stand some Kabirpanthi temples. Peeping out from their walls we see Brahma, Sarasvati and Trivikrama. No record of any period is known to have been recovered from here.

2.5:X-d: Nachna : Secluded, serene and sylvan in surrounding, Nachna is well-known for the temples of Parvati and Caturmukha Mahadeva, monumental memorials left by the Gupta architects and artists.

The Parvati temple is earlier of the two consisting originally of two stories, it retains now only the lower one. The snactum is empty but has a highly ornate doorway. A covered pradaksina patha was unusual among the features of this temple. A few of the relics removed to the courtyard include a square pillar-base or capital with bold carving of four Visnu avataras,

a caturmukha-Sivalinga and an image of sukhasana Ganesa. Earlier a door-lintel with Laksmi in lalatabimba was found here.

The Caturmukha Mahadeva is one of the earliest sikhara temples of Northern India. We simply wonder at its successful resistance to onslaughts of elements over the ages. In itself this well state of preservation is a tribute to the makers of this majestic edifice (Fig. 2.41). The Mukha-linga occupying its garbha-grha will defy description. Boundless in beauty and matchless in grace, the piece is one of the finest products of Gupta genius (Fig. 2.42). The sikhara, though heavy and mighty, is curvilinear in design carved all over with caitya-window theme.

The authorship of the temples is difficult to ascertain The twin inscriptions of Vakataka feudatory Vyaghradeva of Uccha-kalpa line found here hardly help in the matter. The endowment made for the maintenance of these temples is also missing. Most probably some local noble financed their erection as well as ornamentation. At present Nechna enjoys the prestige of being a place of pilgrimage for the people around who come especially to do obeisance to the Caumukhanatha.

2.5:XI SAGAR DISTRICT

2.5:XI-a: Abchand : About 30 kms. west of Sagar town on Jabalpur Road beside the bank of river Gadheri. Abchand has a large legacy

of prehistoric art. High above in hills the caves contain numerous paintings going back to the days before the dawn of history. To quote K.D. Bajpai (1977). The Paintings can be called prehistoric in the sense that even in historical periods, some of the aboriginal authors of them have been leading a sort of prehistoric life. Of immense interest for us are some religious symbols such as Tree with sun and star, Cross, Vajra, Svastika, Hand-palm and Cakra (Fig. 2.43).

2.5:XI-b: Bhenswaha : This is a new discovery made in course of explorations undertaken for the present work. The village has hardly any inhabitants. It is absolutely abandoned. Here stands a tottering temple, silent and solitary witness to a bygone period of glory and greatness. About 25 kms. north of Bina Railway junction, it was raised right on the bank of river Naren. Built entirely of buff coloured sandstone, and badly ruined beyond possibility of reconstruction, only part of its gateway, garbha-grha and Sikhara survive. Wild trees have shot through its walls and floors and the end of its existence is merely a question of time, unless the Archaeology Department awakes to its importance coming for rescue and relief (Fig. 2.44).

Though the sanctum is destitute of its presiding deity, its Vaisnava dedication seems certain on the basis of a bold representation of Goverdhanadhari Krsna occupying a pilastered niche of the outer wall (Fig. 2.45). Among other art-relics, representations of Visnu, Kartikeya, Mahisamardini

and Siva within a caityagavaksa are worthy of mention. A Sati-pillar record does survive near at hand but it cannot provide any clue to the date of this temple. On grounds of style and architecture, its tentative period could be eleventh century A.D.

2.5:XI-c: Bhapel : About 10 kms. west of Sagar town the village is known for its painted rock-shelters. Bearing upon our theme we have here Buddhist symbols Nandipada and Tri-ratna (Fig.2.43).

2.5:XI-d: Bharcha : The village is a new discovery 25 kms. off Bina town. None of the shrines has survived. Only a few sculptures lie huddled on a platform in the heart of the village. Identifiable among them are Nrtta Ganesa, Visnu, Brahma with his consort and riding his mount. A curious carving is that of Lakulisa, the Saiva saint (Fig. 2.46). In the absence of inscription, the antiquities could be assigned to the end of early-medieval age on the basis of style.

2.5:XI-e: Eran : Located in latitude 24.6°N. and longitude 78.15°E on the bank of the river Bina, Eran lies 58 kms. north-west of Sagar town. It is the oldest inhabited among all historical places of the district. Airikina of yore, it commenced its career in history as a large chalcolithic settlement, sometime in the second millennium before Christ. Excavations revealed an earthen citadel wall that protected the township in those days. A big hoard of punch-marked coins- 3268 in number - also came to very light. Of immense interest are two inscribed earthen seals ti

assignable to early centuries of Christian era. One bearing a figure of Gajalaksmi has the legend: Airikine Gomika Visayadhikara and the second has: Mahadandanayaka Simhanandi.

In historic times it had the honour to become 'Svabhogangara' of Samudragupta, of whom it preserved the only record, other than Allahabad prasasti (R.B. Pandey: 1962). Majority of the monuments was made during the Gupta period and stand upon some high ground near the river. The ruins testify to the existence of numerous Vaisnava temples having graced the complex but nothing survives of them now save the lower courses of masonry and four columns. The solitary surviving shrine has a massive and mighty figure of the Lord. Close by stands the colossal Boar bearing the record of Huna king Toramana (R.B. Pandey: 1962). Facing the temple has been planted the towering pillar of Buddha Gupta with the figure of Garuda crowning it. Among the relics still remaining here is an icon of Nrsimha.

Of breathtaking beauty are two images representing Nrvaraha and Nrsimha now in the collection of Sir H.S. Gaur Archaeological Museum, Sagar. The former is inscribed showing its dedication by two devotees- Maheswaradatta and Varahadatta.

The earliest among Eran inscriptions comes from a Saka chief Sridharavarman and is incised on a stone piller memorial now lying under a tree near Pehlejpur. Interestingly, this very pillar was chosen later to receive the earliest record of Sati

in the world when Goparaja, the faithful feudatory friend of Bhanugupta fell fighting here.

2.5:XI-f: Mahuta : This also is a new site. It is actually an island having a lovely location causing cleavage in the river Betwa. It is 10 kms. west of Bina town commanding a wide view.

The place is littered with icons and architectural members constituting temples in times past. Noteworthy among them is a stone slab carved in all four faces with Saiva deities. Ganesa and Camunda are easily recognisable. A couple of door lintels contain Visnu and Siva in their lalatabimbas, Navagrahas and Mahisamardini also make an appearance. The material is roughly assignable to the end of twelfth century A.D.

2.5:XI-g: Mandi Samora: It is a small station between Bina and Vidisha on the Central Railway. A couple of yards from the station, a tall but skeletal Saiva shrine is visible of which the sanctum, sikhara and mandapa survive though in bad shape. Facing the temple, a Nandi may be noticed. All around lie numerous relics broken away from the parent structure.

2.5.XI-h: Narayaoli : Lying 22 kms. west of Sagar, the village has a hill in its vicinity which is notable for its painted cave-shelters. The Siddha-Baba cave has paintings bearing upon our theme.

2.5:XI-i: Rehli : About 39 kms. from Sagar, the town has an early-medieval temple of Surya. Absolutely ruined, no idea can get of its shape or size. However, the town did yield Brahmanical sculptures such as Surya, Harihara, Vaisnavi, Laksmi-Narayana, Uma-Mahesa, Naga-pair, and Ganga-Yamuna (I.A.A.R.: 1959-60).

In addition to the sites, covered above, Sagar district has many more. Pali, Pithoria, Deori, Piparia, Bina, and Bada Marha are a few more among them needing notice. The lithic record of Kalcuri King Sankaragana was found at Sagar town isself.

2.5:XII TIKAMGARH DISTRICT

2.5:XII-a: Budaur: About 9 kms. off Palera, a village on Chhatarpur- Tikamgarh road, it is a new site from where some tirthankara images were recovered. Remarkable among these are two representations of kayotsarga Adinatha with a caubisi in parikara, and an icon of Neminatha. About a km. away on a hillock is located in a shrine known as Caturbhuja temple. Here the relics include representation of Yogasana Visnu, Ravanamugrahamurti of Siva and a four-armed Visnu.

2.5:XII-b: Kundeshvara : At a distance of 8 kms. from Tikamgarh on Lalitpur road, the place is now a pilgrimage centre. K.D. Bajpai discovered here sculptures representing Saptamatrkas, Surya, Harihara, and Visnu of the Candella times (I.A.A.R.: 1963-64). An inscribed tirthankara icon was also recoved of the

year 1196. A small collection of antiquities is housed in Papat museum here, named in memory of the artist who carved a good many of the icons inside.

2.5:XII-c: Khumanganj : About 5 kms. to the north-west of Budaur, the place is also a new discovery. Relics lie littered in the village. A Hanumana temple on the bank of river Sandani has number of icons, notable being Uma-Mahesa, Ganesa, and Laksmi. In Mata-Mandira are accommodated Visnu and his incarnations. Some more are housed inside a Saiva shrine outside the village. The material is datable to eleventh century A.D.

2.5:XII-d: Markhera : Famous for its sun-temple the village is situated on Rakangarh-Newari road very near to village Bawari. The temple stands outside the village on a jagati facing west. Consisting of a mandapa, an antarala and a garbhagrha, it possesses beautiful curvilinear sikhara which is perfectly preserved with all its crowning members (Fig. 2.47). The sanctum, as also the sikhara, are pancaratha in plan as well as elevation. The sikhara is ornamented all over with caitya window motif. The door-frame of sanctum is profusely ornamented. Sculptural bands bedeck the jangha in which are present the figures of Skanda, Kubera, Lyadoni Balarama, Parasurama, Ganesa, and Varaha. In well state of preservation, the temple has been placed in Pratihara period.

Some very interesting facts come into focus from the brief and hurried survey done above of the religious remains in

the realms of our study. Buddhist monuments are few and far between for the ancient as well as early-medieval period. As regards the period immediately preceding and following the Christian era, we should remember that Mahastupas of Sanchi and Bharhut stood hard by the Bundelkhand boundaries, absorbig much of its fervour and faith and new centres had no chance to survive in their vicinity. As for the early-medieval period we have some isolated pockets of Buddism when it was well on the way to decline.

Most of the sites show coexistence of Brahmanism and Jainism. Numberwise the appeal of Jainism may have been narrow but even these handful of followers held on to their faith and the sect fared better than Buddhism. The reasons are worth investigating.

A good number of incons, antiquities and edifices cannot be attributed to royal patronage. They owe their fashioning and financing to the lay faithfuls who must have prospered to an unprecedented scale to incur the expenditure. For Jainism we have profuse epigraphic evidence, at least, from Deogarh but for Brahmanism we possess hardly any. Of one thing we could be pretty sure. Trading class was not Jaina invariably and Siyadoni stone record speaks volumes on the point.

A considerable section of society must have belonged to the class of artists and architects in early-medieval period. It must have been a new class since the number required earlier

was much less in comparison if we go by the available archaeological remains. There was no differentiation among the sculptors and architects on the basis of sects. The artist used to be master of the iconographic texts, be they Jain, Buddhist or Brahmanical. At Khajuraho such is the likeness among temples and their ornamentation that telling a Jain temple from a Brahmanical one, solely on the basis of outer facades, is well-nigh impossible.

2.6 URBANIZATION AND URBAN CENTRES IN BUNDELKHAND

Being predominantly agricultural the progress of urbanization in Bundelkhand could not make much headway. In fact, leaving Jhansi and a few more centres, no settlement in worthy of being termed as truly "urban". They are rurban and have acquired significance merely as service centres administrative headquarters of fort towns of erstwhile feudal chiefs. None of them bears the stamp of modern urban function.

In all, there are at present 30 towns in Bundelkhand of which 20 are in U.P. and 10 in M.P. Jhansi group of towns is of some significance. Jhansi is the largest city of the region with a big contonment and railway workshop. The city bears an unattractive look, which was built by Bir Singh Deo. The famous historic fort constitutes the nucleus around which the settlement of Orchha towards the closing years of the century grew. The fort and the township were ranged by Moghul

armies in 1602. The city of Jhansi practically owes its development as a large town to Malhar Krishna Rao, one of the Maratha generals of Nuru Shanker of Malwa, whose troops has marched on the way up north to Orchha in A.D. 1742-43.

The defensive spot with river frontage and raised surface appears to have been the most important site for the urban nucleus of Lalitpur. It is bounded by river Shahjad on the east and Biana nala on the north. The crossing of the river Shahjad by Jhansi-Sagar road at Lalitpur has led to convergence of several minor roads to this place.

The town of Lalitpur is surrounded by illdrained, lowlying tracts on its northern eastern and southern sides owing to the presence of Biana nala and the Shahjad. As such the middle class residential area have developed in the form of a compact block just around the business zone and, thus, a well marked core is formed. The widely spaced government bungalows occupy the raised sites in north-western sector. The other spacious and good looking building which are more recent in origin, have followed the roads leading to Jakhlon and the railway station. The poor class residence are chiefly located either close to or beyond the Biana nala in the north and at the out skirts of the middle class residential block in the east.

In Jalaun district Orai being the district headquarters, is the biggest town. Konch, Kalpi (Fig. 2.48) and Jalaun are

tahsil headquarters and rural service centres.

Banda has four towns namely, Banda, Chitrakut, Manikpur and Rajapur. While in Hamirpur district, Charkhari, Hamirpur, Rath and Mahoba are mostly the seats of several ancient dynasties.

In M.P. district headquarters such as Datia, Tikangarh, Chhatarpur and Panna are the chief towns. These fort towns were the headquarters or the capital of former feudal states. In addition to district and tahsil centres, there are a large number of smaller service centres i.e. places of weekly markets. For much of central and western Bundelkhand Jhansi weilds the maximum influence as a regional capital.

In Bundelkhand region the famous place are Chitrakut-Dham. The siting of Chitrakut Dham has been on the religious ground. The town has grown on the western bank of the Paisuni (locally the Mandakini Ganga) close to the fort of the Kamta hills. The place has been highly sanctified with the association of Rama (Fig. 2.46).

2.7 AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Notwithstanding the fact that regional population overwhelmingly depends on agriculture for its sustenance; Bundelkhand is one of the most under-developed regions of India with traditional and rudimentary forms of cultivation oriented

to production of cereals. Some of the causes of backwardness may be attributed to unfavourable physical conditions as a result of which only 46% of the total reported area is under effective cultivation. Much of the regional backwardness is further prepetuated by inefficient and traditional methods of farming. Of the grass area available for cultivation about 92.0% is given to food crops. Only 14.3% of the gross cropped area is irrigated. Owing to diversification of relief. Climate and soils there is no specialization in the cropping pattern to any considerable degree. Sometimes as many as 27 different crops may be grown in the year.

2.7:

2.7:1: <u>Cropping Pattern</u>: Cereals and millets are grown over 62% of the gross cropped area; where as pulses occupy 2[illegible].4%, fruits and vegetables 0.3% and other 3.1%. Among the non-food crops oilseeds, the most important, are grown over [illegible].5% while 1.5% of area is shared by fibres and spices, etc.

Among the cereals, wheat is the chief rabi crop and is grown over 24.0% of the net cropped area. About 2/3 of wheat comes from irrigated tracts of loamy soils of northern Bundelkhand which produce the pissia or the white variety. However, the most popular variety of wheat grown is the drought-resistant kathia (red brown). Rice is sown over 8.0% of the gross cropped area and except in Banda and Tikamgarh district. Where irrigation is plentiful either from canals or from tanks, it does not form

an important crop anywhere else. Barley, in contrast, is widely diffused because it is more adaptable than wheat.

Jowar and bajra are the chief millets of the region and are grown in kharif season entirely as un-irrigated crops. Bajra, owing to its requirement of well-drained sandy loams; is confined to Jalaun district. Jowar like barley however, is more widespread on account of its natural adaptability.

One of the significant of the cropping pattern is the system of mixed sowing of seeds used as a device to ensure the crops associations are wheat and gram (Birra). Wheat and barley (gojai) gram and barley (Bejhar) and jowar or bajra and arhar. The popularity of mixed sowing may be judged from the fact that their combined area is about nine times the area of wheat, seven times of gram and twenty times of barley. Most of the mixed crops tend to include a leguminous crop (Canons of India: 1961) (Fig.2.2.42).

The cropping pattern may be exemplified by a village named Malehra which is located along the Mahoba-Chhatarpur road in the Man tahsil of Jhansi district (Fig. 2.5$).

2.7:II: Irrigation : Stabilization of agriculture in Bundelkhand has been achieved through fighting back an almost lost battle against the recurrance of droughts; scarcities and famines, for which the region had been ill-reputed. The earliest attempts at

providing irrigation by tanks were made by Chandel and Bundela chiefs. In fact many of the tanks in Bundelkhand are older than the date (Samvat: 1604) inscribed at the Haibatpura rock (Season and crop Reports of U.P. and M.P. 1959-64). However, the real credit for large scale irrigation works (canals) goes to the British who succeeded in constructing the Betwa, Dhasan, Ken and other protective canals. In the post-Independence period completion of Matatilla, Lalitpur, Saprar dams etc., by U.P. Government at a cost of more than Rs. 7.5 crores, was another commendable landmarks in agricultural stabilization. In M.P. Bundelkhand, however, little could be done, owing to repeated political changes and limited financial resources and out of six minor projects submitted to the Planning Commission only two, namely, Nandanwara and Beniganj, were executed.

2.7:III: Industrial Economy: Bundelkhand is industrially undeveloped. The region lacks not only in basic raw material and infrastructure but also in enterpreneurship- the three pre-requisites for industrialization. These limitations have further deprived the region even of the industries ancillary to agriculture.

The region has no large-scale industrial establishment. Industrial structure comprises largely of house-hold and small scale industries amongst which saw-milling and wood works, charcoal making, textile (handloom) and leather goods, flour and oil milling are important not so much from the point of returns

as in terms of their extreme dispersal and rural employments. Most of the raw materials are either purchased from Panipur and Man Panipur towns or brought from elsewhere. The industry has shown remarkable progress in recent years.

Apart from the above, the region also has got a few other industries; i.e. lacquerware articles, soft-stone-work and brassware works of Chhatarpur. Diamond cutting and polishing is a significant industry in Panna district. In addition to these, forests also have industrial prospects producing timber, lac, gum, honey, catechu, various edible fruits and roots also.

2.7:IV: Transport and communications: The difficult terrain, alongwith its cumulative effects on the economy, has hindered the development of the means of transport and communications in the region, especially in Panna, Ajaigarh and Bijawar where pack animals are the only important means of moving commodities. There is much scope for development of all-weather motorable roads in the whole region in order to break the geographical isolation of the region.

2.8 THE REGIONS

By the large, Bundelkhand is a distinct geographical region of India. It has its basis not only in the structural unity, geomorphic homogeneity and climatic uniformity, but also in the common history, economy and society of the people. How-

ever this over all homogeneity, who subjected to more thorough scrutiny permits further sub-divisions into several units on the basis of their physical, social and economic distinctiveness. In no case does the variety of sub-units impair the fundamental unity of the region.

In the scheme that follows, Bundelkhand has been divided into two regions of first order, six regions of second order and 14 third order regions (Fig. 2.51). The fundamental principle on which the regions of the first order are determined is that of general relief while the regions of the second order, considered on the basis of principle of interflewes and relief. In the region of third order, factor of local significance, such as characteristics of soil and vegetation; cropping intensity, and socio-cultural aspects have been associated.

2.8:1: REGIONAL SCHEME

(i) 2a: Bundelkhand plain

(a) Ravine Belt:

(i) Yamuna Ravine Tract-west

(ii) Yamuna Ravine Tract-east

(iii) Betwa Ravine Tract

(b) Jalaun plain:

(i) Sind-Pahuj Tract

(ii) Pahuj-Betwa Tract

(c) Hamirpur Plain:

(i) Turi Basin

(ii) Rath Tract

(iii) Mandaha-Maundi Tract

(d) Banda Plain:

(i) Banda-plain west

(ii) Banda plain east

(ii) 30: Bundelkhand upland:

(e) Bundelkhand Gneissic Region

(i) Bundelkhand Gneissic penneplain

(ii) Bundelkhand Gneissic plateau

(f) Bundelkhand- Vindhyan-Plateau

(i) Vindhyan Hill Ranges

(ii) Banda (Chitrakut) Plateau.

2.8:I (i) 29; Bundelkhand Plain

The Bundelkhand plain, often termed as trans-Yamuna plain, is low-lying elongated tract the Yamuna marking its northern base. The region suffers from imperfect drainage in the central part which is often inundated during the rainy season.

The region is divided into four units of second order and 10 of the third order. The northern most region is that of the Ravine Belt, about 2 to 3 kms. broad, developed along the main streams, especially along their lower reaches near their confluences with the Yamuna. This is a narrow belt of bad-land topography, dissected by innumerable gullies cutting into soft and erosive deposits. The ravines are notable for poor means of transportation and serve as ideal hide-outs for dacoits who strike

terror and endanger social security. As a consequence, the ravine zone is dotted with a large number of deserted villages and fields. Thus, the physical disability has caused social instability and insecurity. These ravines are more fully developed along the Chambal: the Kunwari, the Sind and the Pahuj in the North-western part of the region. They are also found along the Betwa and the Ken. Based on their intensity we may designated them as the Yamuna Ravine Tract west, the Yamuna-Ravine Tract East and the Betwa-Ravines Tract. The Yamuna Ravine Tract west extends south ward to incorporate the ravines of Sind and Pahuj and the Yamuna Ravine Tract East includes the ravines of the Ken. The ravines of the Betwa have been singled out for their distinctive character (Fig. 2.52).

As regards the land use pattern in the ravines; it is exemplified from the village Uncho situated to the east of the Pahuj (Jalaun district). The cropping pattern of the village includes chiefly the cereals, pulses and a few vegetables. The village enjoys the facility of canal irrigation from the kuthond branch of the Betwa canal system (Fig. 2.54).

The Jalaun plain covers the western tract between the the Sind and the Betwa. It is relatively a dry region with an average annual rainfall of 80 cm. Its soils (kabar, mar and parua) are fertile and respond well to irrigation. It is predominantly a gram-wheat-bajra region. The western part of this region i.e.

Sindh-Pahuj Tract is not only sandy but is also drier with meagre facility for irrigation. As a result, it is a dry farming tract. In the Jalaun plain proper namely the Pahuj-Betwa Tract, development of Kuthond and Hamirpur branches of Betwa canal has brought about considerable improvement in agriculture leading to dense population and fairly even distribution of settlement. Kanpur-Jhansi branch of the central Railway has also ushered in economic development.

The Hamirpur plain is neither as dry as the Jalaun plain nor as wet as the Banda plain; it is intermediate in situation as in climate. It is also one where black soils; which do not require much irrigation; are dominate. This region may be divided into three sub-units. The Rusi-basin is the north ernmost area. It is an oblong depression subject to the annual inundation of the Ken caused by the impounding waters of the Yamuna when in spate. In fact; it represents an abandoned course of river Ken itself; now occupied by Turi stream. Annual silting of this entire area makes it highly fertile for rabi crops.

Rest of the Haimirpur plain may be divied into Rath tract (western) and Maudaha-Laundi tract (eastern). In the large measure both are similar. Soils are similar in both the regions as also the crop association of gram, wheat and Jowar. However, the surface relief and historico-cultural factors tend to cause differentiation. The surface relief of the eastern tract is

hummocky being dotted with large number of hills crowned by forts and fortresses. It has indeed been traditional territory of the Bundelas with Mahoba as its regional capital. It is form this core area that the Bundelas extended their territory. The presence of a large number of tanks facilitates. Casi's-cropping i.e. betel-culture, especially around Mahoba. The Bath Tract on the other hand is more or less a plain country with grain farming as the dominant economic activity depending mainly on canal irrigation (Dhasan canal system). Besides, the Laundi tahsil of Chhatarpur district is well known for jowar cropping on black soils within the Maudaha-Laundi Tract.

The Banda plain is roughly a triangular area bounded by the Ken in the west; the Yamuna Ravine Belt in north and Chitrakut plateau (Patha) in the south-east. River Baghain divides it into two parts, namely, the Banda plain west and the Banda plain east. The Banda plain west is, in fact, the so called Ken-Baghain tract comprising most of Baberu and Banda tahsils and the northern half of the Naraini tahsil. It is covered by mar, kabar and other mixed kabar and parua soils. It is one of the most fertile tracts of Bundelkhand aided by regular supplies of water from the Ken canal with the result that the cropping intensity of this area is the highest in the whole region. Rice is the first ranking crop with its predominance in kharif while wheat and gram dominate the agricultural scene in the rabi season. The sub-region is generally marked by absence of fallow

lands during the two main seasons as double cropping is practised almost everywhere.

The Banda plain east is marked by succession of narrow interfluves formed by numerous deep channelled streams draining the Vindhyan tableland to the Yamuna. In the over drained and impoverished soils of the region rice does not form a part of the general cropping scheme as in the case of its western counterpart. Instead, bajra and gram assume greater significance.

2.8:I (ii) Bundelkhand Upland : Bundelkhand upland stands in strong contrast to the plain. On the basis of varied surface; presence or absence of waterbodies and variation in depth and texture of soils; the upland is broadly divided into two regions of second order, namely the Bundelkhand geneissic region and the Bundelkhand-Vindhyan plateau; being further divisible into two regions of third order each.

The Bundelkhand gneissic region, comprising much of Datia, Jhansi, Takamgarh and Chhatarpur districts, represents the geological nucleus of the region and stands as an ancient massif of subdued relief. It appears to have been peneplamated at least twice in its geological history and has been encroached upon by recent alluvium in the North. In the west, south-west and south-east it is overlain by Vindhya and Bijawar rediments. With its intermediate locations between the plain in the North and the gneissic plateau in the south, the Bundelkhand Gneissic

peneplain partakes the characteristics of both. One may notice here and there crumbling dykes and isolated groups of granite and eneissic foulders half-buried under the alluvium. Most of the area covered by light black soils is devoted to grain farming especially jowar, wheat and gram. In the eastern part, namely, in Chhatarpur tahsil, the agricultural landscape changes and a high degree of crop diversification is introduced owing to diversified relief and availability or otherwise of irrigation by tanks. This is not the case with western part as the Betwa canal has given the farmers an opportunity to concent trate on wheat and rice as also on jowar which is mostly dependent on rain.

The village Bijoli located to the south of Jhansi city along the Jhansi-Itarsi railway, presents landure pattern characterised by the cropping of wheat, barley, rice, maize, small millets gram; urd, mung, wegetable etc. It is also marked by cultivable waste and fallow lands.

The Bundelkhand Gneissic plateau is an area where massive granites and gneisses have been exposed at the surface with small patches of black soils formed in Situ. These soils are generally deep in the depressions; excessive soil moisture during the west sesson causes the growth of pernicious weed, the Kans. The landscape of this area is generally characterised by large chunks of rocky wastelands and undulating surface with a number of shallow water bodies. Tikamgarh tahsil is an exception in this agriculturally poor region because it has a good supply

of water from a large number of tanks which makes it an area of high cropping intensity (120%) with rice as the first ranking crop. In the eastern part of the region wheat and oil seeds (til) become more important than rice or wheat or jowar. As a whole the region presents a picture of social and economic diversityy depending on various local factors. Villages are generally perched on rocky prominences around a small fort which stands nearby a tank of lake-natural or artificial, viz., village Delwara and Jakhaura in Lalitpur tahsil.

The Bundelkhand-Vindhyan plateau is physio-graphically different from other regions. It is divided into two sub regions. (1) The region of Vindhyan Hill Ranges forms the southern and south-eastern margin of the Bundelkhand region. It is a narrow belt of flat-topped hill ranges known as Panna, Ajaigarh and Vindhyachal in different parts. The region terminates in steep scarps, both towards north and south. Although much of the area is overgrown with inferior jungles, yet there are also patches of reserved forests, specially in Lalitpur, Mehroni and Ajaigarh tahsils.

The Banda or Chitrakut plateau lying south of the Banda plain is a continuation of the Vindhyan hill ranges. This plateau is locally called as Patha and includes within it the tableland north and south of the Vindhyachal range.

2.8:2 Regional Synthesis

It may be emphasised once again that manyfold sub-division of Bundelkhand as out-lined above, in order to highlight the sub-regional variation, is not intended to give an exaggerated picture of regional diversity and to impair the long-preserved overall unity. In fact there exists areal social, economic and emotional oneness in the whole of the Bundelkhand. Agriculture, the common vehicle of social and economic life of the people, is the real backbone of regional economy. Quarrying-lumbering etc. are the only activities of some economic significance in much of the plateau region.

The backwardness of the region may be partly attributed to its political bifercation into two different political units since the medieval times. This has brought about an economic imbalance in the region. This was not the state of affairs when the Bundelas in 14th and 15th centuries maintained their negmony over the whole tract lying between the Yamuna in the north and the Vindhyan plateau in the south. The northern plain of Bundelkhand provided the food and the plateau region supplied mineral as well as timber from the forests. No wonder, therefore, that Bundelkhand remained for long a bulwark for the Moghuls, who later on succeeded in capturing the plain area, comprising much of Jalaun, Hamirpur and Banda districts. This is a major historical event which wrecked the Bundelas not only economically but also politically. The British almost maintained the status-quo and

merged Jalaun, Jhansi, Hamirpur and Banda districts in the then North-west provinces. They allowed the feudal chiefs of continued to govern their petty states which satisfied their ego. Even after independence the region has remained mostly neglected.

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CHAPTER-II

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CHAPTER-III

HISTORICAL STUDY OF CHANDELA'S DYNASTY

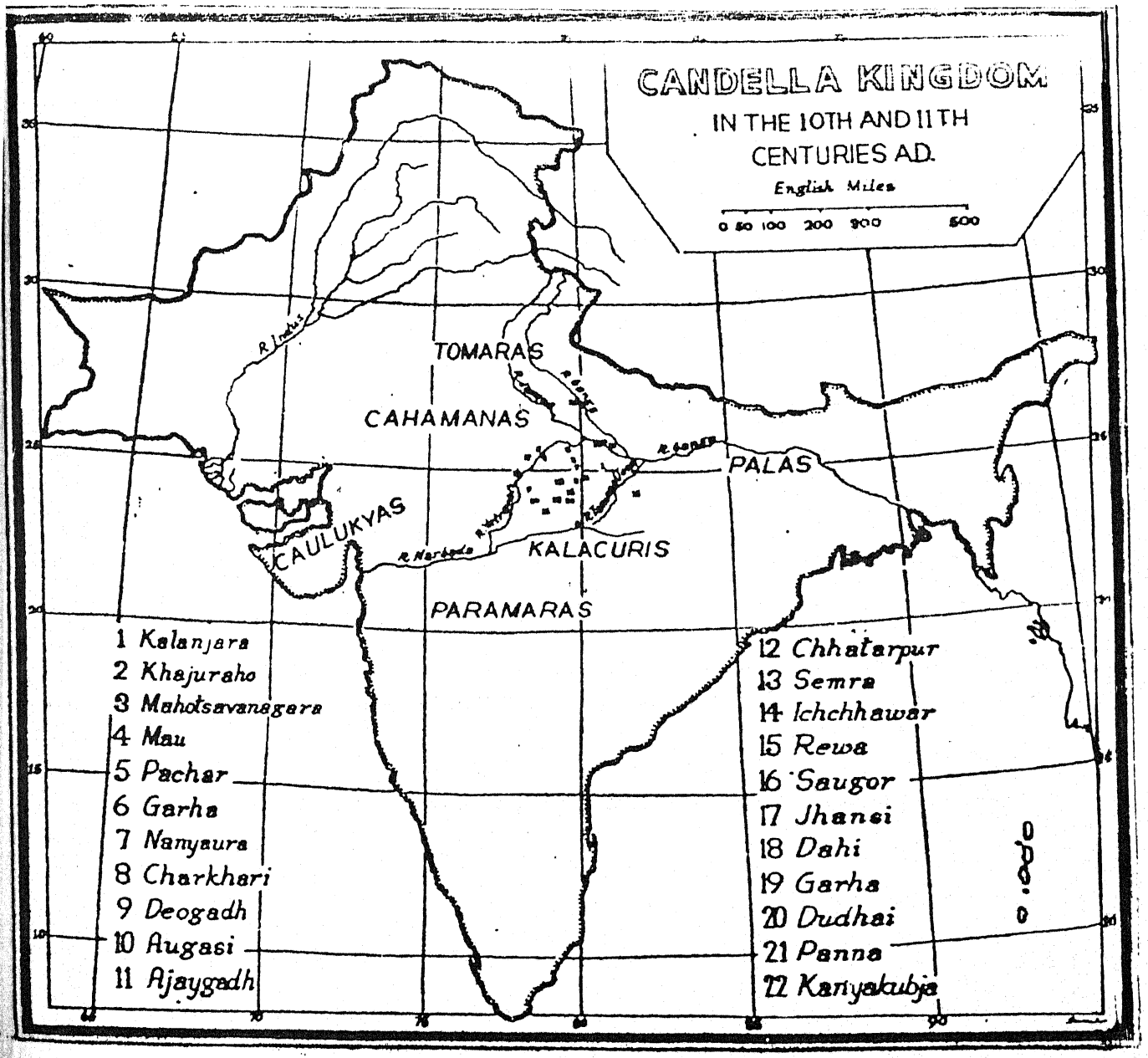
CANDELLA KINGDOM
IN THE 10TH AND 11TH
CENTURIES A.D.
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 500
TOMARAS
CAHAMANAS
PALAS
CAULUKYAS
KALACURIS
PARAMARAS
1 Kalanjara
2 Khajuraho
3 Mahotsavanagara
4 Mau
5 Pachar
6 Garha
7 Nanyaura
8 Charkhari
9 Deogadh
10 Augasi
11 Ajaygadh
12 Chhatarpur
13 Semra
14 Ichchhawar
15 Rewa
16 Saugor
17 Jhansi
18 Dahi
19 Garha
20 Dudhai
21 Panna
22 Kanyakubja

FIG: 3.1

3.1 INDIA FROM EIGHTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

The death of king Harsha in A.D. 648 was followed by the collapse of the Kanauj Empire. The throne was usurped by his minister Arjuna. Owing to the unfriendly way in which he greated a Chinese embassy the usurper was attacked by a Chinese force; and suffering a crushing defeat, was sent as a prisoner to the Chinese Emperor. The removal of the strong hand of Harsh, as Mr. Vincent Smith points out, loosened the bonds which restrained the disruptive forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their normal result; a medly of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in unceasing internecine war.

The period now under review practically covers the middle ages, and it may be well to indicate the main characteristics of the period in a few introductory words, before proceeding to deal, in some what greater detail, with some of the leading matters requiring our attention. For some five hundred years- from the sixth to the eleventh - centuries- India was practically free from foreign invasion; with ample opportunities to work out its own destiny. The sixth century was, as we have seen, a period of the seventh century, the great figure of Harsha, of

THE
CANDELLA
TERRITORY
Findspots of inscription
Ancient & Medieval name Gopādri
UTTAR KOSALA
MALAVA
DAHALA
VIDARBHA
DAKSINA KOSALA
KHANDESH
Aligarh
Mathura
Bharatpur
Agra
Kālindi
Kanauja
Bara Banki
Gonda
Basti
Gorakhpur
Fyzabad
Lucknow
Unao
Rae Bareli
Bayana
Tonk
Karauli
Sabalgarh
Mau
Protapgarh
Jaunpur
Allahabad
Prayāga
Ghazipur
Baranasi (Kāsi)
Mirzapur
Chunar
Bundi
Chitore
Citrakūta
Udaipur
Nimach
Mandasor
Dasapura
Sirpi
Gunā
Lalitpur
Rewah
KAIMUR RANGE
BAGHELKHAND
Malhar
Pathari
Sagar
Garhakota
Bilhari
Banswara
Jaora
Narsinghgarh
Shajapur
Bhilsa
Sanchi
Ratlam
Ujjayini
Bhopal
Jabalpur
Jhabua
Dewas
Sardarpur
Indore
Narsingpur
Hoshangabad
Amarkantak
Dhar
Mhow
Mandla
Ratnapur
Mandu
Maheswar
Māndhātā
Chhindwara
Seoni
Bilaspur
Champa
Raigarh
Khairagarh
Sambalpur
Rajnandgaon
Raipur
Durg
Patna
Bolangir
Mahanadi
Ellichpur
Bhendara
Nagpur
Jalgaon
Akola
Wardha
Ajanta
Buldana
Ellora
Yeotmal
Miles
50

Fig. 3.2

Kanauj, appeared on the scene, the last native paramount sovereign of Northern India. The history of next three hundred years, 650 A.D. to 950 A.D. is obscure, with little to guide us but tradition and a few coins and inscriptions. It is clear, however, that there was no political cohesion, no dominating personality to give some degree of unity to the scattered and too often warring elements of which India is composed. As Mrs Steel has remarked, "a thousand names jostle each other in common place confusion. In the Chaos of conflicting claims, any attempt at classification is hopeless". In the north, however, the Chandelas and various Rajput tribes came into prominence (Fig. 3.1) and in the south the Chalukyas were powerful until the middle of the eighth century, when they were eclipsed for more than two centuries by their feudatories the Rashtrakutes (H.S. Bhatia: 1984).

3.2 THE AGE OF RAJPUT CLANS

From 950 to 1200 A.D. is a period of reconstruction, and the political history of the north revolves around a number of powerful Rajput clans which stretched from the Rann of Cutch to Rohilkhand, and ultimately succumbed to the Muhammadan invaders after a long and grave resistence. In the Deccan, towards the end of the tenth century, the Chalukyas again rose to power, but in the latter part of the twelfth century their power was crushed by the Hoysalas in the south an enterprising and war like race of Mysore professing the Jain faith, and by the Yadavas to the

north, descendents of their own feudatory nobles with territory in the direction of Nasik. In the extreme south there are the three Dravidian kingdoms of very ancient tradition, Pandya, Chola, and Chera, as well as the realm of the Pallavas or an intrusive foreign and non-Dravidian race, of Scythian or Parthian origin. Towards the close of the tenth century a Chola king overran almost the whole of the southern India. Throughout the whole of this period Buddism steadily decayed, until it became practically extinct. Jainism flourished in particular localities, while Hinduism, in its sectarian and philosophical aspects- firmly established itself in the minds and hearts of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land. Of great influence in this direction was the vigorous proselytism of Kumarila-Bhatta of Bihar, in the eighth century, and of the great south Indian philosophers, with their rival schools of Hindu thought Sankara, who flourished in the ninth century, and Ramanuja in the twelfth politically, India was hopelessly divided during the medieval period, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on account of Mohammadan raids. The plains of northern India were a battle field, but it is clear that religiously the north and the south exercised a powerful religious influence on each other. Such seem to be the main facts political and religious, to be for me in mind in the period now under consideration. These we shall now refer to in more detail. (H.S. Bhatia:1984).

3.3 THE RAJPUTS AND THE KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH

The Empires of Magadha and Kanauj represented the achievement of the Aryan race and genius. Harsha's death left the subject kings and tribes masterless. These tribes, mainly aboriginal or foreign; were split up into innumerable small communities in prepetual conflict, unable to establish any political cohesion, and without any genius for Empire.

The absorption and assimilation of these aboriginal or foreign masses within the Hindu fold was the task of Neo-Hinduism a last mainly accomplished between the seventh and eleventh centuries A.D. and it was so thoroughly done that we now find throughout Northern India a Hindu population fairly homogenous in blood, culture, and religions, and differing markedly from the degraded tribes that still haunt the outskirts of civilisation. The transition was effected by a three fold movement; religious, social, and political. The religious movement consisted in the substitution of the popular and non-Aryan cults for the vedic or Aryan (H.S. Bhatia: 1984).

Under Brahmanical guidance, aboriginal deities, demons, and cults found shelter under the wing of vedic or Brahmanical gods and forms of worship. The evolution of Neo-Hinduism as a religious had been taking place for many centuries, making great progress in the Gupta period. The social movement resulting in the assimilation of aboriginal and foreign elements, took

place in the medieval period. The history of caste is very obscure, and much still remains in dispute; but the main outlines may be sketched as follows- The original constitution of both Aryan and Dravidian society was tribal, but while the Aryans were exogamous, and readily married the women the captured even from the aborigines, the Dravidians were endogamous and although they married outside their village, yet they married within their tribe. Now, caste is the solvant of the tribe, and it is a creation of the Aryans, proud of their ancestry, their fair complexion, their superior civilization, and their possession of the Vedas, the styled themselves the twice-born. Those aborigines whom they permitted to associate with themselves were Sudras. Outside these were the unspeakable barbarians. The same pride which dictated the privileges of the twice born created an aristocracy of priests and warriors. This four fold didivision of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Viasyas and Sudras remained not altogether intact but still in force until the seventh century A.D. After that we find a new division. Instead of twice-born Aryan and the Sudra Dravidian, we have only the pure and the impure. Purity of blood of food of occupation form the new standard of society. And the standard by which this new society is judged is the standard of the kingdom of Kanauj. From Kanauj kings invited Brahmans to Gujarati, to Bengal, to Orissa, to reform the barbarous distoms of their people. The father we depart eastwards or westwards from Kanauj and the Doab, the famous "Middle

Country" the lower is the caste, by whatsoever name it may be called. The process by which the tribal divisions were split up may be seen at work in the present day. Under the attraction of the superior Hindu civilization, and the teaching of vagrant, Brahmans or ascetics, the upper classes separated themselves from the lower, imitated Hindu modes of life, assumed the status of a caste, were supplied with a mythical geneology by the Brahmans, and were recognised as an integral part of the some Hindu community. The process was repeated until the lowest alone were left, and they were reduced to the condition of serfs. The transition was effected under the supervision of the Raja, whi, guided by the Brahmans, became the source not only of precedence but of cas te. But this change does not imply an immediate abandonment of the ancient Dravidian endogamy. That depended upon time and circumstance. The Ancient Aryan exogamy had always allowed men to marry women of a lower class under certain conditions, and as the Aryan influence previaled among the upper classes of the new society, so the tendency of exogamy spread. Throughout the middle ages we find a certain freedom of exogamy in full force; as it is in some places at the present day. The new society thus formed rested mainly upon a classification of occupations. The highers the caste the more numerous and more honourable were the occupations open to it. So completely dis this classification by occupation supersed the old racial divisions that even among the Brahmans we find septs which have

no claim to the rank except their priestly avocations. The lower castes; on the other hand, remained endogamous trade guilds, with inherited rights and a corporate government. Thus, between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., the old racial divisions passed away and a new division came in founded upon status and function.

The political movement that helped to effect the assimilation of the aboriginal and foreign elements was the rise of the Rajputs. There is an ancient Indian tradition that when the Brahman Parasu-Rama "Rama with the axe"- had destroyed the race of the ancient Kshatriyas for disputing with the Brahmans, and men were left masterless, the gods, with a view to repair the evil, brought forth out of the cauldron of fire in Mount Abu, the abode of the holy Rishis, in Rajputana, the four most famous of the Rajput clans, the Parihars, the Pouwars, the Solankis, and the Chauhan. The legend is probably intended to show that the pure Aryan Kshatriyas of Aryan times were replaced in the middle ages by the Rajputs- "Sons of Kings", warriors of foreign or mixed origin. It is highly probable that the Rajputs represent a considerable body of the Ancient Kshatriya clans of the Aryan tribes, but modern research indicates that there are large scythian or Hun elements in certain Rajput clans, it would appear that Brahmans, Bhars, Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, and Huns have all contributed to the Rajput clans. This much is certain that though they are of mixed origin, all these clans in due time

became homogeneous through intermarriage and the adoption of common customs. In religion they were zealous Hindus, and reverenced the Brahmans; Mr. Kennedy writes: They were all distinguished by their clan feeling, their implicit obedience to their chief, while claiming the equality of blood relations, their sense of communal property. They married their daughters into a higher clan, and took their wives from a lower one. They had the same feeling regarding the honour of their women; the same customs of widow-burning and of the johar, the holocaust of females in a beleaguered fort. They all refused to perform the manual work of a agriculturist. It is this code of honour, these common customs, which made them homogeneous and unique (H.C. Bhatia: 1964).

The Rajput clans made their first appearance in the eighth and ninth centuries. From Rajputana they entered the Punjab and in the 10th century made their way to Kashmir. About the same time they spread north and east from southern Oudh, and later made themselves masters of the central Himalayas. Throughout the mediaeval period, the Rajput clans were the Kshatriyas of Hindustan, and the whole political history of the time centres around them.

Every tribes which exercised sovereign power or local rule for a considerable period joined itself to them. They recognised to title-deeds except their swords, and were constantly seeking for new settlements. They are found everywhere,

from the Indus to Bihar, but their original homes were two- Rajputana and the south of Oudh. All we can do is to refer very briefly to a few of the more important states and dynasties of the period (H.S. Bhatia: 1984).

3.3:1: The Gurjaras and Rathors of Kanauj :

The Kingdom of Kanauj, which had reached the height of its prosperity in the seventh century under King Harsha, retained much of its importance during the Mediaeval period, although in territory it was confined to the Doab and southern Oudh as far as Benares. In the second half of the ninth century A.D., it was ruled over by a powerful Gurjara king, Bhoja who made himself master of the whole country from Gwalior to the Himalayas. The capital city of Kanauj on the left bank of the Ganges became unrivalled for its greatness and its wealth, and its fame as a civilising influence increased by the migration of large bands of Brahmans, Kayasths, and other castes, to as far as Gujarat on the western coast, and Bengal and Orissa on the east. In 1019 the city fell before Mahmud of Ghazni and twenty years later Jaichand; a chieftain of the Gaharwar or Rathor clan seized the throne and his line continued to rule at Kanauj down to 1194 A.D. when the last of them, also named Jaichand, was defeated and slain by the Mohammadans under Muhammad Ghori. His descendants moved westward and founded the Jodhpur state.

3.3:II: The Pouwars of Malwa and the Solenkis of Gujarat: The

historic kingdom of Malwa, the ancient Avanti, with its capital Ujjain, associated with the name of Vikramaditya, was during the mediaeval period in possession of a famous Rajput clan, the Paramaras or Pouwars, who ruled for about four centuries (800A.D. to 1200 A.D.), with their capital at Ujjain and afterwards at Dhara or Dhar. Another famous Malwan city was Chandravati in the vicinity of Mount Abu. The most renowned of the Malwan monarches during this period were (a) Munja (974-995) in whose reign the authors Dhananjaya Dhanika, and Halayudha flourished and who was ultimately defeated and slain by Taila, the Chalukyan king, on his southern border, and (b) his more famous nephew Bhoja, who reigned from about 1010 to 1050 A.D. and whose fame in Indian literary tradition as warrior, author, and patron of letters is second only to that of Vikramaditya. A treatise on poetics is ascribed to king Bhoja himself, as well as one on astronomy. The SIMHASANA DVATRIMSIKA or "Thirty two Tales of the Throne" are landatory stories regarding Vikramaditya of Avanti, related by thirty-two statues standing round the old throne of that famous monarch, to king Bhoja of Dhara, to discourage him from sitting down on it. The work is ascribed to Kshemankara, and was probably composed in the time of Bhoja from older stories in the Maharashtra dialect. At the court of Bhoja, too, lived Damodara Misra, author of the Hanuman-Nataka, or the play of Hanuman dealing with the story of Rama in connection with his ally Hanuman, the monkey chief. In the twelfth century, the Ponwar kingdom of

Malwa was overthrown by another powerful Rajput clan, the Solankis of Gujarat and Kathiawar and in the course of the conflict the captured Malwan king was carried about in a cage by the Solankis and their celebrated king and magician Siddharaja. In the previous century the Solankis had suffered severe reverses, their capital being taken by the Ponwars, and the famous temple of Somnath on the Kathiawar coast plundered by Mahmud.

3.3:III: The Tomars of Delhi: The country around Delhi was occupied by a Rajput clan, the Tomars. According to Hindu tradition, Delhi has, from time immemorial, been the site of a capital city. The city of Indraprastha was according to the story of the Mahabharata, founded by Yudhishthira and his five brothers, the Pandavas, and the neighbouring village of Inderpat preserve the name. So far as verifiable history, however, is concerned the importance of Delhi begins about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., when the fort of Delhi Lalkot, was build by a chieftain; Anang-Pal, who may have belonged to the dispossessed Gujara family of Kanauj. His descendents; known as Tomars, reigned at Delhi had no son and he married his daughter to the son of the Chauhan Raja of Ajmer, with the result that, in the son of this marriage, the celebrated Prithviraja, the union of the two kingdom was effected about 1170 A.D.

3.3:IV: The Chauhans of Ajmer and the Chandels of Bundelkhand: The large and powerful clan of the Chauhans had their power

centred around the famous salt lake Sambhar in Rajputana (Between Jaipur and Jodhpur) with Ajmer as their capital. Their chief cities, like Sambhar and Ajmer, were centres of a great caravan trade. Towards the end of the eleventh century the disunited Chauhan septs were consolidated under a cultured and powerful king, Visaladeva (Bisaldeo) who, among many other similar conquests took Delhi, and had its son married to the Tomar king's daughter The product of this union, as already stated, was Prithviraja, who became ruler of Sambhar, Ajmer and Delhi. He is the hero of popular legend in Northern India and his fame is celebrated in the sixty nine books of the Prithviraj Rasan of the poet Chand-Bardai. Among his many exploits was his abduction of, and romantic elopement with, the not unwilling daughter of the Rathor Jaichand of Kanauj. Refusing to appear as a tributary king at the court of Kanauj when Jaichand, in the pride of his heart, was celebrating the horse-sacrifice and setting up the claim to be universal sovereign, Prithviraj visited in disguise, and fell in love with the king's daughter. That nothing might be lacking in the due performance of the Asvamedha ceremony. Jaichand had set up a statue of the absent prince and assigned to it the meniet office of doorkeeper. To the consternation of all the fair princess, passing by the living princes present, placed her marriage garland round the statue of the gallant Chauhan prince, who duly carried her off hewing his way through the masses of his enemies. Another exploit of Pritviraj was his overthrow of

the Chandel king of Mahoba and Kalinger in the country of Bundelkhand.

During this period, until their overthrow by Prithvigaj in 1182, and the capture of their chief cities Mahoba and Kalinjar by the Mussulmans in 1203 A.D. the Candel Rajputs exercised paramount power in Bundelkhand, and their dominions extended from the Jumna to the Nerbudda, their principal cities, notably Khajuraho, were a dorned with beautiful temples covered outside and inside with elaborate sculptures. The neighbourhood of Mahoba is covered with architectual antiquities prominent among which are artificial lakes, formed by banking up valleys with Masonary dams on an isolated rock at the termination of the Vindhya range, and overlooking the plains of Bundelkhand, is the famous fort of Kalinjar, which has played a prominat part in history from the period of the Mahabharata down to the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. Closely connected with the Chandels are the Kalachuris of Chedi and the Kachwahas of Gwalior and Marwar, a Rajput clan to which belong the modern chiefs of Jaipur and Alwar, for three centuries, but in 1129 A.D. Taj Karon (Dhula Rai) the bridegroom prince, for love of the fair Maroni, devoted a whole year of his honeymoon and as a result his throne was usurped during his absence by his nephew, a member of the Parihar clan. Dhula Rai then migrated westwards and founded the Jaipur state. Returning to the story of Prithviraj. he was for a time the Champion of the Hindus against the

Muhammadan invaders, and he succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the forces of Muhamed Ghori, but the Muhammadan raiders ultimately proved too strong for him and he and his son were slain in battle, and Ajmir and Delhi were taken (1193 A.D.). He was the last Hindu king of Delhi and with his fall and, later, that of his rival Jaichand of Kanauj, the mediaeval period of Neo-Hinduism was at an end.

3.4 ORIGIN OF THE CHANDELAS

The earliest traditions of the Chandela family as recorded in their inscriptions trace its origin to the moon, implying that it was connected with the ancient lunar race of Ksatriyas. The Bateswar inscription of Paramardi states, "From the eye-lotus of Arti was born the god (The moon borne on the head of Siva, the husband of Parvati (Epigraphia Indica: 1892) the arnament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the Lord of Mountains. From him sprang this race which has shove with its bright fame, as if (decorated) with pearls. In it there were born, of pleasing conduct, the Chandratreya princes, who by their powerful massive arms have crushed the host of enemies. (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Another Chandela inscription records that Brahman from his own mind created Marichi and other sages. The most distinguished among these sages was Arti, from whose eye sprang the Moon and whose son was the sage Chandratreya, the progenitor of the distinguished race called

after him, which will rule the earth as long as the moon lasts. (Epigraphia Indica: 1892). Other Chandela inscriptions also allude to this same story.

Traditional stories also trace the origin of the Chandelas to the moon. According to one legend, originally gives by the bard Chand the Chandelas were descended from Hemavati, daughter of a Brahmans Purohita of Indrajit, the Gahrwar Raja of Banaras. "Hemavati was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rati Talab, she was seen and embraced by Chandrama, the god of the moon, as he was preparing to return to the skies. Hemavati cursed him "why do you curse me"? said Chandrama "your son will be lord of the earth and from him will spring a thousand branches", Hemavati enquired, "How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband"? 'Fear not' replied Chandrama "your son will be born on the bank of the Karnavati River: then take him to Khajuraya and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba he will region, and will become a great king. He will posses the philosopher's stone, and will turn iron into gold. On the hill of Kalanjar he will build a forst. When your son is 16 years of age you must perform a Bhanda Jag to wipe away your disgrace, and than leave Banaras to live at Kalanjar.

According to this prophecy, Hemavati's child, like another Chandrama was born.... At 16 years of age, he killed a

tiger, when Chandrama appeared to him and presented him with the philosopher's stone and taught him polity (Rajniti). Then he built the fort of Kalanjar, After which he went to Kharjurpur, where he performed a sacrifice (Jag or Yajnya) to do away with his mother's shame, and build 85 temples.... Lastly, he went to Mahotsava, or Mahoba, the place of Chandram's great festival, which he made his capital (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903 & F.N. Wright: 1873).

There is yet another legend regarding the origin of the dynasty. According to this, the original birth place of the Candela was Kalanjara. "The king of that fort one day asked his family priest what was the day of the month. He answered that it was the full moon (Puranmasi), where as it was really the Amavas or the last day of the dark fortnight. When the Pandit became aware of the mistake which he had committed, he went home and fell into deep distress. When his daughter learned the cause of his sorrow, she prayed to the moon to appear atonce full, and thus justify her father's words. The moon appeared and as a reward lay with her, and when her father heard of this he expelled her from his house; so she wandered into the jungle, and there her child was born. There is Banaphar Rajput saw her and took her home. Her father was so ashamed of the affair that he turned himself into a stone; and as his name was Mani Ram, he is now worshipped as Maniya Deva (W. Crooke: 1896). The girl's son became the founder of the dynasty.

Modern scholar do not place any reliance upon the connection of the Chandelas with the lunar race of Ksatriyas. Dr. Vincent Smith called the story of Chand a 'silly legend, the only significance of which is in its "implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation which was best attained by including it in the group of "Moon" descended "Rajputs and adding respectability by inventing a Brahman ancestress. (V.A. Smith: 1908). Smith thought that the Chandelas were in origin a non-Aryan people, associated with the aboriginal Conds and Bhars. For his assumption, Smith depended on the following arguments:

(i) The Chandelas are admittedly of impure descent, but have no connection with the immigrants from the north-west such as the Hunas, who are largely represented by the fire descended Rajput such as the Cahamanas.

(ii) The local traditions of the many villages over which the Chandelas ruled mention the Conds, Kols, Bhils, Bhars, Chamars etc. and other low caste and out caste peoples as the original occupiers of the land. For these reasons Smith believed that the Chandelas were "a small clan who supplied the members of the ruling dynasty and much of the personnel of the local court, but who never supplanted the tribes that were in occupation of the soil previous to the rise of the dynasty".

[illegible] Smith is inclined to the view that the Chandelas are originally Conds, Russell thinks

(iii) In Mahoba there is a temple of Maniya Deo, the tutelary deity of the Chandela kings. Smith stated that the image of this deity is akin to those of the Gond deities a fact which further supports his assumption.

(iv) The poet Chand associates Maniyagarh (Traditionally the original home of the Chandelas) with a Gond chieftain.

Moreover, the story of the marriage of Durgavati of the Chandela line with the Raja of Garha Mandla, according to Smith, shows the prevailing intercourse between the Chandelas and Gonds even as late as the 16th century. Relying on these arguments; Smith strongly suggested that the myth of the union of Hemavati with the moon was invested to conceal the fact that the Chandelas readly sprang from an aboriginal stock. As the Gaharwars preceded the Chandelas. Smith believed that it is very likely that the Chandelas are the result of crossing Gaharwar with Bhar and Gond blood. He, however, was more inclined to the view that the Chandelas were originally Hinduised Gonds, but added that, as the Gonds and Bhars are said to be very closely connected the question is of no importance. (V.A. Smith:1908 & Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: 1877).

Mr. R.V. Ressell (1916) supports the view of Smith and takes the Chandelas to be a section of one of the indigenous tribes which rose to power. But while Smith is inclined to the view that the Chandelas are originally Gonds, Russell thinks

that they sprang from the aboriginal Bhars. He puts forward the following arguments in support of his conclusion.

According to traditions, the Gonds came from the south and practically never penetrated into Bundelkhand, Saugar and Damoh being almost their furthest limit to the north-west. The Gonds have no tradition to their dominance in Bundelkhand and their existence is first recorded several centuries after the commencement of the Chandelas dynasty. Unlike the Gonds, the Bhars were famous builders. This is supported by Elliot's remarks that common tradition assigns to the Bhars the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugar and many old stone forts, embankments and subterranean caverns in Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Mirzapur and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilization". Russell on the basis of Local tradition; believes that the Gaharwars with whom the Chandelas are legendarily connected, were an aristocratic section of the Bhars. Smith himself said that the shrine of Maniya Deo, discovered by him in the Hamirpur district, was in a village reputed formely to have been held by Bhars (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:1877). The instance of the marriage of Rani Durgavati in the 16th century, and Chand's story of Chandela Raja Kirat Singh's hunting at Maniyagarh with the Gond Raja of Garha-Mandla can hardly be satisfactory evidences of a racial connection between the

two tribes. Moreover, the Modern Chandelas [illegible] Mirzapur which was formely in chief seat of the Bhars while the Gonds have never been either numerous or important in Mirzapur. Russell suggestly that "the Chandelas may have been simply a local branch of the Gaharwars, who obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi; or in some other manner, as has continually happened in the case of other clans. The Gaharwars were probably derived from the Bhars (R.V. Russell: 1916).

The view that the Chandelas are by origin Gonds or Bhars, has not remained unchallenged; Mr. C.V. Vaidya (1924) has taken strong exception to it and has vehemently criticised Smith. About the legend of the origin of the Chandelas, Vaidyas says that such stories have been invented in India by poets and bards from vedic times; and lead to no inference either as to baseness or nobility of the hero's birth. These stories are to be set aside as mere fancies. Vaidya points out that the Chandelas are not regarded as a clan of impure descent. Among the lost of 36 Royal families mentioned by Chand, the name Chhand is among the vary first. Vaidya believes that this name stands for Chandelas. Moreover the name Chandela is mentioned by Tod as occuring in the Kumarapala Sanskrit Mass. List incorporated by him in his table of lists giving the names of the 36 traditional Rajput families. Epigraphic Indica (1898) evidence shows inter-marriage between the Chandelas and another well known Rajput dynasty. Vaidya does not agree with Smith that because the

Chandelas originated in the midst of the Gonds they were Gonds themselves. He says that the instict of the Rajput leads him to go into wild regions inhabited by aborigines and curve out a small kingdom if he has no room in the Aryan country. Referring to the belief of Chandela zamindars of Mahoba that their family are autochthonomous (V.A. Smith: 1908). Vaidya says that when we know from history that the Candellas have been in Mahoba for nearly one thousand years it is not surprising that the zamindars believe that they have been therefrom the beginning of time. Vaidya says, "Infact the Chandelas have been in Gond land at Maniyagarh even from before their coming to Mahoba. When they came there we do not know; perhaps they came there during Kushan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land, viz., the Panjab and the Gangetic valley". He rejects Smith's arguments based on the tutelary deity Maniya Deo (or Devi) and say that the statement that the deity is akin to Gond deities is vague, and even if it be accepted, it does not prove that the Chandelas are themselves Gonds. The story that in the 16th century Maniyagarh was associated with a Gond chief has nothing to do with the origin of the Chandela dynasty. Vaidya says it is very strange that the story of Rani Durgavati, which proves the greatness and purity of the dynasty, should be distorted by Smith to prove the exact contrary (C.V. Vaidya: 1924).

One thing that emerges very clearly from these arguments is that the views of the scholars are largely based on

legends, traditions and accounts of later writers. The arguments of both Vaidya and Smith are not without flaws. Vaidya's objection to the supposition that the myth of Hemavati's union with the moon was an attempt to conceal the low origin of the Chandelas; is quite reasonable. Moreover, as pointed out by both Russell and Vaidya, the story of Kirat Singh's hunting at Maniyagarh with a Gond chieftain and Rani Durgavati's marriage are far from satisfactory evidences. Similarly Vaidya's arguments are by no means convincing. Even if we accept his identification of Chhand with Chandela, it is to be remembered that Chand's epic is unreliable and vary late. The Kumarapala-Charita was written in the 12th century A.D. which time the Chandela had perhaps succeeded in passing themselves off as good Ksatriyas. Another weakness of Vaidya's arguments is that he has mainly tried to count eract the view of Smith, rather than put forward evidence to support his own hypothesis that the Chandelas were originally Ksatriyas and that they probably came to Mahoba during the Kusana or Huna invasions of India.

Whatever may be the weakness of Smith's arguments, his assumption that the Chandelas sprang from aboriginal Conds and Bhars seems quite feasible. Kielhorns suspicion that the name Chandratreya taken by the members of the family is a later word; which owes its origin to the desire of having a more sanskritic name (F. Maisey: 1848) supports Smith's theory. Dr. R.C. Majumdar also subscribes to Smith's view. Analysing the causes of the

supermacy of the Brahmans in the early mediaeval period, he suggests that the Chandellas, though ranked as Ksatriyas were originally aborigines and were later incorporated in Aryan society. As these kings had no glorious traditions behind them, they looked up to the Brahmanas for the social prestige and status which only the Brahmanas could give (R.C. Majumdar: 1952).

It is also significant that both the legends connect the Gaharwars with the origin of the Chandelas. Considering the close association of the Gonds, Bhars, Gaharwars and early Chandelas and especially the similarities between the Baharwars and the Chandelas as builders of embankments one cannot but suspect a relation between the two.

We are inclined to agree with Russel that the Chandelas probably sprang from the Bhars and not from the Gonds. Not only are Russell's arguments more convincing, but even Smith agrees that "It is however,,well known that the Bhars were once numerous in Banda; and the information which I have collected proves that in former times they lived in every part of the Hamirpur district and were even found in the Jhansi district west of the Dhasan river. (V.A. Smith: 1877).

Probably the strongest argument in favour of this view is the similarity between the Bhars and the Chandelas as great builders, which suggests that the latter continued the traditions of the former the origin of the Chandelas dynasty are based on

local traditions; legends and later literary works. There is really no evidence reliable enough to lead to any definite conclusion. The opinions expressed are more hypotheses, and the possible truth may ultimately lie in Smith's suggestion that as the Gonds and the Bhars seem to have been closely akin; the Chandelas may have shared both Bhar and Gond blood (V.S. Smith: 1908).

3.5 HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY

2.5:1 : NANNUKA : According to traditions current in Mahoba and the neighbouring villages a Gaharwar Raj preceded at some undefined date the rule of the Chandelas. Practically nothing is known about the early Gaharwars excepting that they were great tank builders. As none of the embankments ascribed to them is situated more than about 15 miles from Mahoba, the Gaharwar rule probably did not extend for beyond its immediate neighbourhood.

The traditions preserved by the Kanungo's family of Mahoba state that the Gaharwar dynasty was succeeded by the rule of the Parihars. This tradition is supported by some other evidence. The small principality of Nagod or Uchahara situated between Allahabad and Jabbalpore about 100 miles from Mahoba was governed by a Parihar chief even as late 1861.

The town of Panwari, situated about 27 miles west-north-west of Mahoba is said to have been founded by a Parihar Thakur in A.D. 903. Part of the town of Mahoba, according to Smith,

till very recently was remembered as the Parihar's quarter. The traditions of some other villages mention early Parihar occupation of Mahoba and the surrounding places. Relying on this evidence; Smith believed that the Parihars actually preceded the Chandelas (V.A. Smith: 1877). The Parihars, according to the Mahoba Kanungos, were overthrown by Chandela Candravarman in 677 Samvat (V.A. Smith: 1877) of an unspecified era.

The Chandela inscriptions however, do not mention any king of that name. The earliest inscription of the dynasty is the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga of Samvat 1011 (A.D. 954) (Epigraphic Indica: 1892). This and other later records, after mentioning the names of mythical figure, refer to Nannuka as the first important member of the family. Thus Nanuka appears to be the first historical king of the Chandela dynsty. Dr. Ray suggests an agreement between tradition and epigraphy by taking the name of Candravarman as a mere biruda of Nannuka. He, however does not accept the tradition that the founder of the dynasty overthrew the Parihars, but argues that from about this time to the beginning of the 10th century, the Gurjara-Pratiharas were at the height of their power and could not have been driven out of this place by the Chandelas (H.C. Ray: 1931). While accepting Dr. Ray's conjecture that Candravarma was the biruda of Nannuka, it may be pointed out that minor branches of the Pratiharas settled in different parts of India at that time. Hence it is quite possible that the Chandelas over threw a

minor branch of the Pratiharas ruling in Mahoba and nearby places, but owed allegiance to the main branch ruling in Kanauj.

Nanmuka was at first probably a feudatory of Nagabhata II (815-833 A.D.) (H.C. Ray: 1931). Nagabhata's successor was Ramabhadra, a weak ruler, whose short reign (833-836 A.D.) saw a great crisis in the Pratihara fortunes. The twelfth verse of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja Pratihara probably implies that Ramabhadra freed his country from the yoke of notorious and cruel foreign soldiers. (Archaeological Survey Report: 1903). Dr. Majumdar thinks that the enemies referred to here were the palas, who must have caused very serious disturbances (Journal of the Department of Letters:1923). Ramabhadra being unable to cope with the danger single-handed is recorded to have solicited the aid of his feudatories (R.S. Tripathi: 1937) we may assume that Nanuka, being one of these feudatories; helped Ramabhadra in this crisis. This may have increased his power and prestige. But, as Dr. Ray warns, it would be very risky to assume that Nannuka enjoyed independent sovereign power (H.C. Ray: 1931). In all probability, he was no more than a powerful vessel of the Pratiharas.

3.5:II: VAKPATI : Nannuka's son and successor was Vakpati. The Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D. 954 states that from Nannuka was borne the illustrations Vakpati, whose spotless fame spreads in all the three worlds with the rays of the sun. He is also said to have defeated all his enemies and made the Vindhyas his

pleasure-mount (W.C. Benett: 1872). Another inscription calls him a Ksitipa and praises him for excelling the mythical kings Prithu and Kakustha, in valour and wisdom (W.C. Benett: 1872). As is evident from the inscriptions; Vakpati does not seem to have made any great achievements, although he may have somewhat extended the Chandela dominion; presumably towards the Vindhya.

3.5:III: Jayasakti and Vijayasakti: Vakpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijaysakti. The Khajurahi inscription of A.D. 954 records, "as the moon and the Kaustubha (a rose) from the ocean of milk, so were born from that name of wonder (Vakpati) two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Princes, when they are met together, enraptured praise, when they are met together, enraptured praise with shaking of heads the deeds of both of them, by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed as woods are burnt by a blazing fire (W.C. Benett: 1872). Jayasakti is also mentioned as Teja and jejjaka in other inscriptions (W.C. Benett: 1872) while Vijayasakti is mentioned a Vijaya; Vijja and Vija (W.C. Benett: 1872). As has already been stated, the Chandela principality of Vijayasakti, who is mentioned in another inscription; which says that, like Rama in his war like expeditions, he reached even the southernmost point of India (W.C. Benett: 1872). Dr. R.C. Majumdar thinks that the epithet "Suhrida-upakriti-daksa" shows that Vijayasakti undertook this expedition for the benefit of an ally (Epigraphic India: 1892).

3.5:IV: RAHILA : Vijayasakti's son and successor was Rahila. The Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga informs us that the younger of the two brothers; i.e. Vijayasakti, begat a son named Rahila, thinking of whom his enemies enjoy little sleep at night (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). The same inscription praises him as a great warrior destroying his enemies by the wind of his unappeased danger (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Another inscription says that he favoured his friends and punished his enemies (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). The poet Chand ascribes the foundation of the town Rasinin the Banda district the full name of which is Rajavasini, to Rahila-Varman (Indian Antiquary: 1886). No historical facts can be derived from these conventional praises. Rahila was no more than one of the early Chandela feudatory rulers under the Pratiharas, and it was only during the reign of his son and successor, Harsa, that the Chandela family became recally important.

3.5:V: HARSA : The Nanyaura plate of Dhanga states that "In the exalted family of the venerable sage Candratreya, the crestewel of the three worlds, there was a prince, the illustrious Harsadeva, a tree of paradise to those attached a root of joy to the good, nectar for the eyes of his friends, a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies a brdige across the ocean of battle. The prowess of this, who inspired fear by his terrific array of troops, who had made tributary sovereigns, was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of

the summer sun, which is fierce with its burning orb, which scorches with its rays the mountains. (Indian Antiquary: 1872). It is evident from this inscription that Harsa was regarded as one of the important and powerful kings of the dynasty. He reigned at a period when events of great importance were happening on the stage of Northern India and the Chandela ruler played no minor part in the affairs of the time.

By this time the Gurjara-Pratiharas had succeeded in making themselves a paramount power in northern India. But their supermacy was seriously challenged by the Rastrakutes and the Palas. Since the death of Mahendrapala (893-907) the position of the Pratiharas was gradually worsening, after the death of Mahendrapala there was possibly some trouble between Bhoja-II and Mahipala over the succession to the Pratihara throne. Bhoja-II, who appears to have succeeded Mahendrapala had a short reign (C.908-914). He was succeeded by Mahipala (C.914-943).

The internal disorder coupled with external aggression imperilled the Pratihara empire. The situation reached its climax when, some time in A.D. 916-917, the Rastrakutas under their king Indra III (C. 915-917) undertook an expedition against the Pratiharas. The Rastrakuta army completely devastated Kanauj and the Pratihara rular Mahipala saved his life by flight. The great humiliation suffered by Mahipala at the hands of the Rastrakutas is known from an account of the Kanarese poet pampa, who says that Narasimha; a Calukya feudatory of the Rastrakutas

put to flight the army of the Ghurjjara-raja and terrified the king so much that the latter fled in consternation 'not stopping to eat or sleep or rest (H.C. Ray: 1936). The Palas of Bengal did not remain idle and, taking advantage of the situation, recovered parts of Bihar from the Pratiharas. The reappearance of Pala inscriptions in the Gaya district at this time proves their success against their western rivals (H.C. Ray: 1936).

Mahipala in his attempt to recover the lost kingdom, sought the help of his feudatories. That the help of the Chandela rular was sought is known from a fragmentary Khajuraho inscription which says that a Chandelas king placed Ksitipaladeva again on the throne (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). This Ksitipaladeva is identified with the Pratihara Mahipala and this identification is accepted by all scholars. The name of the Chandela king who helped Ksitipala is lost. Kielhorn takes this prince to be Harsadeva (Epigraphic Indica: 1872) while Hoerule takes him to be Harsa's son and successor Yasovarman (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: 1904).

Harsa had matrimonial relations with the Cahamanas. The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 states that Harsa married with due rites a suitable (lady) of equal caste named Kancuka; Sprung from the Cahamana family (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).These matrimonial alliances with the Kalacuris and the Cahamanas undoubtedly increased the social prestige of the Chandelas and helped Harsa to consolidate his position. Considering his

remarkable achievement. It is not surprising to find the Khajuraho stone inscription comparing him with a tree of paradise and praising his widely expanding fame. In Harsa, we are told, fortune and eloquence combined statesmanship, heroism and vigour, radiant with the quality of goodness and complete patience 'came to him by nature with contentment and a desire for victory, modesty and self confidence. He was anxious to worship the feet of Visnu; unacquainted with wicked utterances: and was abashed when his own excellencies were being enumerated. He is also praised for being "void of calumnious speech and mute from birth to utter untrue words and being endowed with famous qualities (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Undoubtedly: Harsa founded the future greatness of the Chandela dynasty. Without openly defying the Gurjara-Pratiharas, he brought the Chandelas into the forefront the left a great opport unity for his son and successor Yasovarman to utilise.

3.5:VI: YASOVARMAN : The Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D.1002, states that Harsa's wife Kancuka bore of him a son named Yasovermadeva, who was pious and munificent and who firmly established his rule by sobduing other king (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). He is also mentioned as Laksmavarman in the same Chandela inscription (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). No inscription of Yasovarman himself has yet been discovered, but in the Khajuraho stone inscription (A.D. 954) of his son Dhanga, a glowing account of his achievements is given. Kielhorn took this inscription to

be of Yasovarman himself, but as it ends with an account of Dhanga and his achievements there is no doubt that it was set-up during his reign.

Yasovarman is also praised for making Yamuna and Ganga his pleasure lakes and encamping his army on either banks of the rivers unmolested by enemies (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). In spite of the usual exaggerations and poetic world-play, it is evident from these verses that Yasovarman undertook expeditions indifferent directions with considerable success. He had built up a strong military power on the foundation laid by his father, Harsa. The Pratiharas had suffered severe blows and their downfall was almost complete. The Kalacuris were subdued and decline had set in with the Rastrakutas. The Chandelas were virtually independent and transformed into one of the strongest powers in Northern India. They were about to enter on the greatest and the most splendid period of their history.

3.5:VII: DHANGA : Yasovarman was succeeded by his son Dhanga. His accession must have occurred some time before A.D. 954, the date of the earliest of his inscriptions, which says, "As the moon (arose) from the great ocean, so was born to him (Yasovarman) a son, causing joy to the people the illustrious Dhanga, who by his arms has firmly established his upright rule over the earth (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). His mother was queen Puppadevi (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). From the Dudhai inscriptions we know of another son of Yasovarman, named Krishnapa.

These inscriptions record the erection of a temple by one Devalabdhi of the Chandela family, the son of illustrious, Krishnapa and Asarva and the grandson of Yasovarman (F. Maisey: 1848). Cunningham's identification of this Yasovarman with the Chandela ruler Yasovarman has been accepted by all scholars. In the Jhansi fragmentary inscription, one Kanhapa is mentioned as a nripa, and seems to have founded a city which was his capital. As this inscription mentions the Chandela rulers Vijaka and Dhanga, Dr. Chakravarty identities Kanhapa with Krishnapa of the Dudhai inscriptions (Archaeological Survey Report of India: 1936-37). He was probably a younger brother of Dhanga and was in charge of some district wear Jhansi.

It is clear that Dhanga was a very powerful king and was the greatest ruler of his time. He had firmly consolidated his position in central India, and may other state in the east, west and southern parts of his kingdom felt the weight of his arms. He was not only the builder of an empire, but a great patron of art and architecture. The claim of the Mau inscription that Dhanga obtained exalted sovereignty (Samrajya) is not an idle boast. Undoubtedly the mantle of imperialism had fallen from the Pratiharas upon the shoulders of Dhanga Chandela.

3.5:VIII: GANDA : Dhanga's son and successor was Gandadeva. No inscription of this king has yet been discovered and his name is only known from a few later inscriptions of the dynasty, which accord to him some common praise. An inscription of

Kirtivarman says that from Dhanga "there sprang an ornament of the earth, called the illustrious Ganda, an unrivalled hero, who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Another inscription calls him "a ruler of the earth in the four quarters; expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

No definite information of his reign is available from these verses. It is not even known when he began his reign and when he died, though an approximate idea of his reigning period is possible. We know that his son and successor Vidyadhar was ruling in A.D. 1019, and it is possible that Vidyadhara succeeded two years earlier i.e. A.D. 1017. If the suggestion that Dhanga died some time after A.D. 1008 be accepted, we have for Ganda a short reign of eight or nine years from about A.D. 1008-1017. Ganda is identified by many scholars with the Indian prince Nanda, mentioned by some moslem historians; who fought with Sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1019 and 1022. As will be this identification is not correct and the Nanda of the Moslem historians was not Ganda, but his son and successor Vidyadhara.

3.5:IX: <u>VIDYADHARA:</u> An inscription of Kirtivarman records that Ganda's son and successor was Vidyadhara "who gathered the flowers of the fame of his enemies (Epigraphi Indica: 1872). Vidyadhara was the most powerful ruler of his time and his reign marked the zenith of Chandela supremacy. Unfortunately,

we have no inscription of his reign and for an account of his time we must rely on moslem records, and inscriptions of later Chandela princes and their allies. The moslem historians give a detailed account of Sultan Mahmud's conflict with Vidyadhar; which was the most important event of his reign and of the history of north-western and central India at that time. Vidyadhara; who had thus the unique distinction of being the only Indian ruler who effectively checked the triumphal career of Sultan Mahmud and saved his kingdom from wanton destruction by that ruthless conqueror (R.C. Majumdar: 1952).

Vidyadhara was a mabitious and powerful king who started where Dhanga had left off. Vidyadhara succeeded in-gaining supremacy over the Kalacuris and the Paramaras; the two most powerful dynasties of that times.

3.5:X: VIJAYAPALA : Vidyadhara's son and successor was Vijaya-pala (F. Maisey: 1848). No inscription of his reign has been discovered but he can not have ruled before A.D. 1022, the last known date of his father, Vidyadhara of after A.D. 1051, the first known date of his successor Devavarmadeva, we get no information of Vijayapala's reign from the inscriptions; in which he is simply praised as a brave and conrageous king. One inscription credits him with putting an end to the Kali age (Epigraphic Indica: 1872) but, ironically, we have other evidence to show that the decline of the Chandelas started from his reign

a son of Vijayapala, it is clear that Kirtivarman and Deva-

During Vijayapala's reign, the Chandela's probably also lost the control which Vidyadhar Dr. Ray reasonably suggests that "taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyadhara's successors, Bhoja, may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund, and the statement of the prasastikara possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramara (R.C. Ray: 1931).

Thus, in spite of the absence of any direct evidence, we have reason to believe that immediately after the death of Vidyadhara, there was a change in the fortunes of the Chandelas. The empire founded by Dhanga and expanded by Vidyadhara showed visible signs of decline during this period. But the misfortune of the dynasty was not yet complete, and in the next few years the situation turned for the worse, and for a time the Chandela suffered a complete eclipse.

3.5:XI: DEVAVAPMA: In an inscription dated V.S. 1107 (A.D.1051) of the Chandela dynasty, the ruling prince is named Devavarmadeva, son of Vijayapala and grandson of Vidyadharadeva (Indian Antiquary: 1873). The inscription names the mother of Devavarmadeva as Bhuvanadevi (Indian Antinquary: 1873). In later Chandela inscriptions, the name of Devavarmadeva is omitted from the family geneology. These inscriptions mention Kirtivarman as the son and successor of Vijayapala (R.C. Ray: 1931). As Devavarmadeva in his own inscription is also mentioned as a son of Vijayapala, it is clear that Kirtivarman and Deva-

varman were brothers. But the omission of the latter's name from all Chandella inscriptions seems very strange and suspicious. In fact, until recently, but for the contemporary inscription of Devavarman himself which is dated A.D. 1051, we should not have known that a king of that name had ruled at all. Lately, however another inscription of his reign has been discovered, dated in V.S. 1108 i.e. A.D. 1052. (Census of India: 1931).

3.5:XII: KIRTIVARMAN: Devavarman was succeeded by Kirtivarman. The maustone inscription states that from Vijaypala was born Kirtivarmadeva who was a though virtue itself descended there... to destroy the sin of the Kali age (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). An other Chandela inscription says that from Vijayapala sprang the illustrious Kirtivarman; who was endowed with all the virtues of Bharata (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Kirtivarman is generally regarded as a younger brother of Devavarman, and for the omission of the latter's name from Kirtivarman's inscriptions it is suspected that Kirtivarman's occession to the throne was not a peaceful one. The snaskrit drama 'Prabodha-Candrodaya' allegorically represents the conflict between the step-brothers Viveka and Mahamoha, and the play ends with the triumpth of Viveka. This allegory may well allude to the conflict between Devavarman and Kirtivarman. The inscriptions of the family make no mention of any political achievement to the credit of Vijayapala and Devavarman. Moreover, they omit the name of Devavarman, as if he was of no importance. That the

period was one of decline is clear from a study of the contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence.

3.5:XIII: SALLAKASANAVARMAN: Kirtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallaksanavarman. The Maustone inscription records that Sallaksana "always kept the enemies awake by the weight of his prowess" and he was "a leader of those versed in sacredlore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a stone of arts and abode of good conduct and a tree of paradise to all suppliants for support. He is also praised because, "taking away the riches of his enemies and bestowing them on (all) his people of good family, he far removed the sad poverty. (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

3.5:XIV: JAYAVARMAN: The Ajaygadh inscription of Viravarman states that after Sallaksanavarman "the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom, whose only glory was victory (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). The only epigraphic record of Jayavarmadeva is the Khajuraho stone inscription dated in V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1117) which constitutes and appendix to a longer inscription of king Dhanga (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). This renewed inscription neither mentions the kings who ruled between Dhanga and Jayavarmadeva, nor records any achievement of the latter. It is clear that Jayavarman's reign was not very successful, and a Kalanjara inscription indicates that Jayavarman; being wearied of government, abdicated the Varman probably indicates that he suffered at the hands of the Gahadanala ruler Govindacandra.

3.5:XV: PRITHVIVARMAN: The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman says that "after Jayavarmadeva; the king Prithvivarman the coulterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallaksana-varman, bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). It is thus clear that uncle succeeded the Nephew and Smith suggested that Jayvarman left no capable issue. Nothing is known about Prithvivarman hated the ill-behaved; delighted the worthy people spent money on good causes. Protected all beings and secured propriety of conduct. It does not seem that he succeeded in restoring the position of the Chandelas, and it was left for his son and successor Madanvarma to revive and expand the empire again.

3.5:XVI: MADANAVARMAN : Prithvivarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarmandeva. More than twelve inscriptions, which are dated between A.D. 1129 and 1163, and many coins of his reign have been discovered. In spite of their large number we do not get much information from these inscriptions and coins, but we can form some idea of Madanavarman's reign and his achievements on the evidence of these records and those of other dynastics.

3.5:XVII: Yasovarman : Most of the Chandela inscriptions mention Paramardideva as the successor of Madanavarman. But the Baghari stone inscription of Paramardi's reign mentions the name of Yasovarman as the son of Madanavarman and the father of Paramardideva. The inscription records that "As the moon, the crest Jewal of Mahesvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born

from him (Madanavarman). Yasovarman, who was an arnament of great rulers, causing joy to the people. whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the love lives of the Jasmine and the moon, made the hair, appear while and thus caused the unprecedented notion- that people before they had attained to old age, had, als, turned grey (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

3.5:XVIII: PARAMARDIDEVA: Yasovarman was succeeded by his son Paramardideva. The time during which Paramardi ruled the Chandela kingdom is one of the most important periods of Indian history. Twelve inscription of Paramardideva's reign have been discovered and from these we know that he must have ruled more than 35 years (1165-1202). The two most important events of his reign were his conflict with the Cahamanas of Delhi and Ajmer and the Moslem invasion of Kalanjara of A.D. 1202 resulting in the defeat and death of Paramardi.

3.5:XIX: TRAILOKYAVARMAN: According to the evidens, Paramardi was succeeded by Trailokya Varmadeva. The Garra Grant of Trailokyavarman mentions Paramardi as the immediate predecessor of Trailokyavarman and gives the latter all the royal epithets; viz.Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja-Parameswara-Paramamahesvara Kalanjaradhipati (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). Eight inscriptions of king have been discovered, which are dated between A.D. 1205 and 1241. As the Garra Grant is dated in A.D. 1205 i.e. only three years after Paramardi's it seems that Trailokyavarman succeeded Paramardi very shortly. After A.D. 1202. From

Trailokyavarman's assumption of the little Kalanjar Adhipati, in the Garra inscription, it can be assumed that he succeeded in recovering Kalanjara from the Moslems before A.D. 1205. That this was not an idle boast like that the some other kings (Bombay Gazetteer: 1948).

3.5:XX: VIRAVARMAN: Trailokyavarman's son and successor was Viravarmadeva. Nine inscriptions of his reign have been discovered which are dated between the years A.D. 1254 and A.D. 1286.

3.5:XXI: BHOJAVARMAN: Viravarman was succeeded by Bhojavarman. Three inscriptions of Bhojavarmans reign have been found in the Ajaygadh fort, of which one is not dated and the other two are dated in V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288) and V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1288, 24th November) respectively. Nothing is known from these inscriptions except the names of certain ministers and officers, but they indicate that Bhojavarman ruled over the territories surrounding Ajaygadh.

3.5:XXII: HAMMIRAVARMAN: Bhojavarman was succeeded by Hammir-Varman. The Charkhari plate of Hammiravarmadeva is dated 11th September A.D. 1289 (V.S. 1346) (Epigraphic Indica: 1872). As the Ajaygadh Sati record of Hammiravarman's predecessor Bhoja-Varman is also dated in samvat 1346, Rai Bahadur Hiralal suggested that there was a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhojavarman and died in the same year before the date of the issue of the Charkhari Grant. But the Sati record of Bhoja-

varman's reign is dated V.S. 1346 Marggabati (di) 14 Budha; corresponding to Wednesday 24th November, A.D. 1288, whereas the Charkhari Grant of Hammirvarmadeva is dated V.S. 1346 Bhadrapada Badi 12 Ravi Pusya- Naksatra which corresponds to Sunday; 14th August A.D. 1289. So these two dates do not overlap, which shows that there is no evidence of usurption of the throne.

Bhojavarman probably had a vary short reign of 3 years (1286-1286). As the Charkhari Grant of Hammiravarman does not mention Bhojavarman the relation between the two is not known. Dr. Chakravarty's suggestion that Bhojavarman was possibly the younger brother of Viravarman, and reigned during the minority of Hammiravarman may explain the omission.

In the Charkhari platas of Hammiravarman, the ancestors of the royal family are given full royal epithets, but Hammira-Varman himself is not given the epithets Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara. Hiralal thinks "this indicates that either he was full conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a number little, or that he was never recognised as the Maharaja while his elder brother Bhojavarmandeva was on the throne (Epigraphic Indica: 1931). Probably Bhojavarman, the elder brother or the uncle of Hammiravarman, was still alive when the Charkhari plates were issued, and hence the latter did or could not assume the full royal epithets. There is also the possibility that after Viravarman's death, the kingdom was

divided between the two brothers Hammiravarman and Bhojavarman. After Bhojavarman's death Hammiravarman probably took possession of the whole kingdom.

The epithet Kalanjaradhipati and the discovery of a Sati record (S. 1368= A.D. 1311) in Ajaygadh mentioning Hammiravarman as the ruling king. (Epigraphic Indica: 1931); Indicate that he was in possession of Ajaygadh, Kalanjara and the neighbouring places. Another Sati record found in the village Bamhi of the Damoh district has been noticed by Hiralal. This inscription shows that about A.D. 1308, portion of Damoh and Jubbalpore districts were governed by a Maharajaputra Vaghadeva under the sovereignty of Kalanjaradhipati Hammir-Varman (Epigraphic Indica: 1903). In another Sati record discovered in Patan, dated in S. 1361 (A.D. 1304), Vaghadeva is mentioned as a Pratihara chief. (Epigraphic Indica: 1903). These records show that even at the end of the 13th century the Chandela were ruling over some parts of their former kingdom.

The discovery of a Sati record at Salaiya (3 miles from Bamhni) dated in S. 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of Alayadin Sutana (Sultan Alauddin) marks the end of Chandela rule in the territories of Damoh and Jubbalpore, which must have occurred in either A.D. 1308 or 1309; but they probably continued to rule in Kalanjara and Ajaygadh.

In the absence of any Moslem claim of success, it is generally believed that the Chandelas remained in possession of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh during the period C. 1240-1540 A.D. Smith stated that princess Durgavati, who married Raja Dalpat Sa of Garha Mandla about A.D. 1545; is recorded to have been the daughter of the Chandela Raja of Mahoba, and identified the Raja of Mahoba with Kirat Rai and Raja of Kalanjara who was killed when Sher Shah besieged the fort of Kalanjara in A.D. 1545 (V.A. Smith: 1877). The name Chandela survives as a clan name in different parts of present day central India and a zamindar family of Bengal claims descent from the imperial Chandelas (C.V. Vaidya: 1926). But after Hammiravarman they ceased to be of any importance in the politics of northern India; and are no longer our concern.

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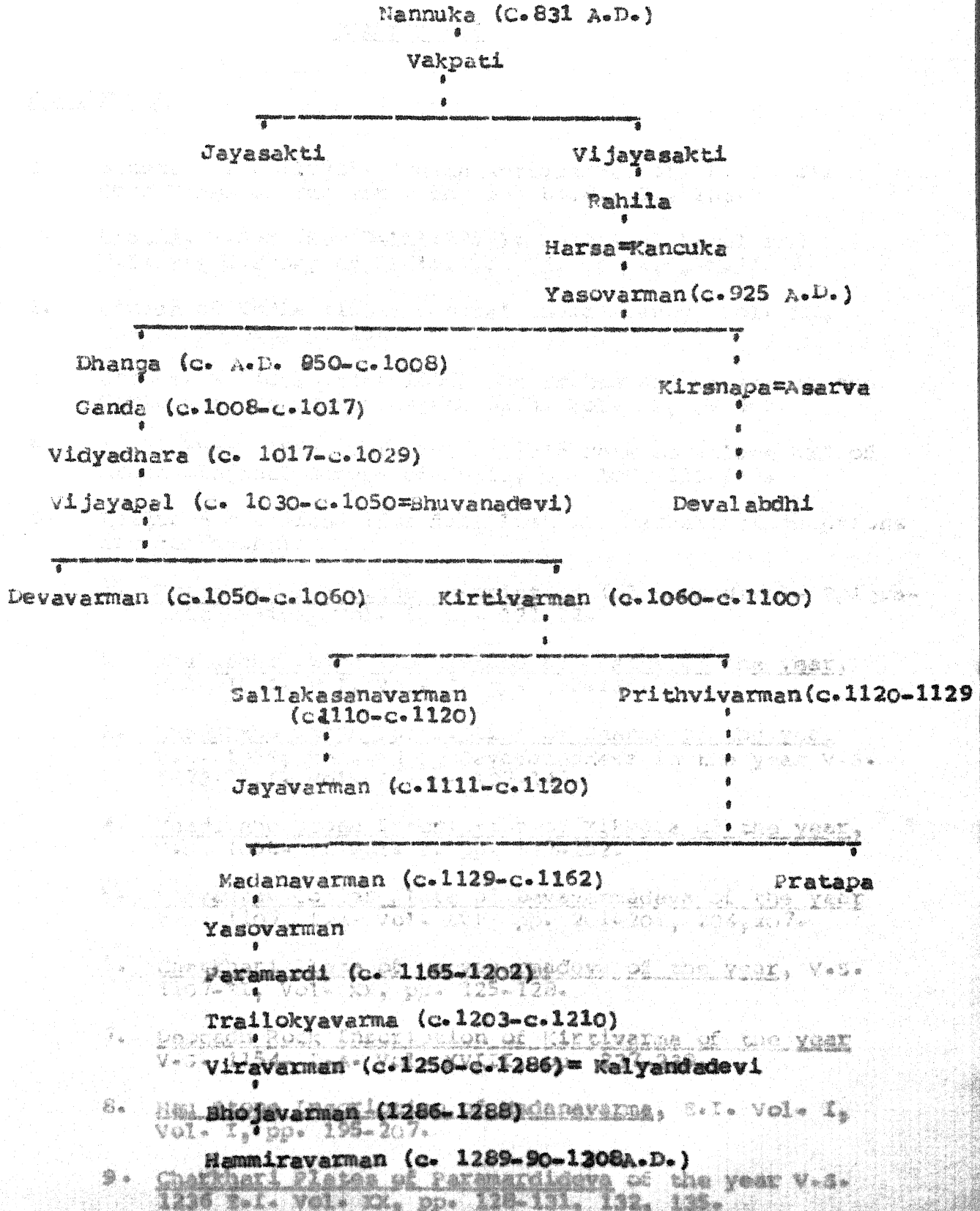
CANDELLA GENEAALOGY



CHAPTER-III

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   3. Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Dhanga of the year V.S. 1059; Renewed by Jayavarmadeva in the year V.S. 1173- E.I. Vol. I, pp. 137-147.

   4. Khajuraho Stone Inscription of Kikkala of the year, V.S. 1058- EI Vol. I, pp. 147-152.

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CHAPTER-IV

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF WAR

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF WAR

4.1: INTRODUCTION

Wars arise because of the changing relations of numerous variables- technological, psychic, social, and intellectual. There is no single cause of war. Peace is an equilibrium among many forces, Change in any particular force, trend, movement, or policy may at one time make for war, but under other conditions a similar change may make for peace. A state may at one time promote peace by armament, at another time by disarmament; at one time by insistence on its rights, at another time by a spirit of conciliation. To estimate the probability of war at any time involves, therefore, an appraisal of the effect of current changes upon the complex of intergroup relationships throughout the world. Certain relationships, however, have been of outstanding importance. Political lag deserves attention as an outstanding cause of war in contemporary civilization.

4.1:1: POLITICAL LAG

There appears to be a general tendency for change in procedures of political and legal adjustment to lag behind economic and cultural changes arising from intergroup contacts.

The violent consequences of this lag can be observed in primitive and historic societies (W.F. Ogburn and M.F. Nimkoff, 1940: Sociology, Boston, pp. 865, 884ff.). but its importance has increased in modern times. The expansion of contacts and the acceleration of change resulting from odern technology has disturbed existing power localizations and has accentuated the cultural oppositions inherent in social organization. World-government has not developed sufficiently to adjust by peaceful procedures the conflict situations which have arisen. Certain influences of this political lag upon the severity and frequency of wars will be considered in the following paragraphs:

War tends to increase in severity and to decrease in frequency as the area of political and legal adjustment (the state) expands geographically unless that area becomes as broad as the area of continuous economic, social, and cultural contact (the civilization). In the modern period peoples in all sections of the world have come into continuous contact with one another. While states have tended to grow during this period thus extending the areas of adjustment, none of them has acquired world-wide jurisdiction. Their growth in size has increased the likelihood that conflicts will be adjusted, but it has also increased the severity of the consequences of unadjusted conflicts. Fallible human government is certain to make occasional mistakes in policy, especially when, because of lack of universality, it must deal with conflicts regulated not by law but by negotiation

functioning within an unstable balance of power among a few large units. Such errors have led to war.

War tends to increase both in frequency and in severity in times of rapid technological and cultural change because adjustment, which always involves habituation, is a function of time. The shorter the time within which such adjustments have to be made, the greater that probability that they will prove inadequate and that violence will result. War can, therefore, be attributed either to the intelligence of man manifested in his inventions which increase the number of contacts and the speed of change or to the unintelligence of man which retards his perception of the instruments of regulation and adjustment necessary to prevent these contacts and changes from generating serious conflicts. Peace might be kept by retarding progress so that there will be time for gradual adjustment by natural processes of accommodation and assimilation, or peace might be kept by accelerating progress through planned adjustments and new controls. Actually both methods have been tried, the latter especially within the state and the former especially in international relations (Ogburn & Nimkoff:1940).

Sovereignty in the political sense is the effort of a society to free itself from external controls in order to facilitate changes in its law and government which it considers necessary to meet changing economic and social conditions. The very efficiency of sovereignty within the state, however, decreases the efficiency of regulation in international relations. By eliminating tensions

within the state, external tensions are augmented. International relations become a "state of nature". War therefore among states claiming sovereignty tends to be related primarily to the balance of power among them.

Behind this equilibrium are others, disturbances in any one of which may cause war. These include such fundamental oppositions as the ambivalent tendency of human nature to love and to hate the same object and the ambivalent tendency of social organization to integrate and to differentiate at the same time. They also include less fundamental oppositions such as the tendency within international law to develop a world-order and to support national sovereignty and the tendency of international politics to generate foreign policies of both intervention and isolation. Elimination of such oppositions is not to be anticipated, and their cointinuance in some form is probably an essential condition of human progress. Peace, consequently, has to do not with the elimination of oppositions but with the modification of the method of adjusting them.

With an appreciation of the complexity of the factors involved in the causation of war and of the significance of historic contingency in estimating their influence, caution is justified in anticipating results from analytical formulations of the problem. An effort will, however, be made to draw together some of the conclusions arrived at in the historical and analytical parts of this study.

Warfare cannot exist unless similar but distinct groups come into contact. Its frequency and its intensity are dependent upon the characteristics of the groups and are roughly proportionate to the rapidity with which these contacts develop so long as the groups remain distinct and self-determing. However, when these contacts have passed a critical point of intensity, sympathetic feelings and symbolic identifications tend to develop among individuals of different groups sufficiently to permit the functioning of intergroup social, political, and legal institutions, adjusting conflicts and broadening the area of peace. The smoothness of this process is greatly influenced by the policies pursued by groups and the degree of the consistency of these policies with one another.

It is in the relation of political groups to one another and to their members and in the relation of group policies to one another and tothe world-order that the explanation of war is to be found. War may be explained-sociologically by its function in identifying and preserving political groups, psychologically by the conflict of human drives with one another and with social requirements, technologically by its utility as a means to group ends, and legally by inadequacies and inconsistencies in the law and procedure of the whole within which it occurs.

4.2:2: <u>SOCIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF WAR</u>:

Animal warfare is explained by the theory of natural selection. The behavior pattern of histility has contributed to

the survival of certain biological species, and consequently that behaviour has survived. In the survival of other species other factors have played a more important role. The peaceful herbivores have on the whole been more successful in the struggle for existence than have the predators and parasites.

Among primitive peoples before contact with civilization warfare contributed to the solidarity of the group and to the survival of certain forms of culture. When population increased, migrations or new means of communication accelerated external contacts. The war-like tribes tended to survive and expand; furthermore, the personality traits of courage and obedience which developed among the members of these tribes equipped them for civilization.

Among peoples of the historic civilizations war tended both to the survival and to the destruction of states and civilizations. Its influenced depended upon the stage of the civilization and the type of military technique developed. Civilized states tended to fight for economic and political ends in the early stages of the civilization, with the effect of expanding and intergrating the civilization. As the size and interdependence of political units increased, political and economic ends became less tangible, and cutlural patterns and ideal objectives assumed greater importance. Aggressive war tended to become a less suitable instrument for conserving these elements of the civilization. Consequently, defensive strategies

and peaceful sentiments developed, but in none of the historic civilizations were they universally accepted. War tended toward a destructive stalemate, disintegrating the civilization and rendering it vulnerable to the attack of external barbarians of younger civilizations which had acquired advanced military arts from the older civilization but not its cultural and intellectual inhibitions.

In the modern period the war pattern has been an important element in the creation, integration, expansion, and survival of states. World-civilization has, however, distributed a singularly destructive war technique to all nations, with the consequence that the utility of war as an instrument of integration and expansion has declined. The balance of power has tended to a condition such that efforts to break it by violence have increasingly menaced the whole civilization and yet this balance has become so complex and incalculable that such efforts have continued to be made.

4.1:3: PSYCHOLOGICAL DRIVES TO WAR: Human warfare is a pattern giving social sanction to activities which involve the killing of other human beings and extreme danger of being killed. At no period of human development has this pattern been essential to the survival of the individual. The pattern is a cultural acquisition, not an original trait of human nature, though many hereditary drives have contributed to the pattern. Of these, the dominance drive has been of especial importance. The survival o f

war has been due to its function in promoting the survival of the group with which the individual identifies himself and in remedying the individual problem arising from the necessary repression of many human impulses in group life. The pattern has involved individual attitudes and group opinion. As the self-consciousness of personality and the complexity of culture have increased with modern civilization, the drive to war has depended increasing upon ambivalences in the personality and inconsistencies in the culture.

A modern community is at the same time a system of government, a self-contained body of law, an organization of cultural symbols, and the economy of a population. It is a government, a state, a nation, and a people.

Every individual is at the same time subject to the power and authority of a government and police, to the logic and conventions of a law and language, to the sentiments and customs of a nation and culture, and to the caprices and necessities of a population and economy. If the fights in war, he does so because one of these aspects of the community is threatned or is believed by most of those who identify themselves with it to be threatened. It may be that the government, the state, the nation, and the people are sufficiently integrated so that there is no conflict in reconciling duty to all the these aspects of the community. But this is not likely because of the analytical character of modern civilization which separates military and civil government

ie administration and the judiciary, church and state, government and business, politics and the schools, religion and education. Furthermore, it may be that the threat is sufficiently obvious so that no one can doubt its reality, but this is also seldom the case. The entities for whose defense the individual is asked to enlist are abstractions. Their relations to one another and the conditions of their survival are a matter of theory rather than of facts People are influenced to support war by language and symbols rather than by events and conditions.

It may therefore be said that modern war tends to be about words more than about things, about potentialities, hopes, and aspirations more than about facts, grievances, and conditions. When the war seems to be about a particular territory, treaty, policy, or incident, it will usually be found that this issue is important only because, under the circumstances, each of the belligerents believed renunciation of its demand would eventually threaten the survival of its power, sovereignty, nationality, or livelihood. War broke out in 1939, not about Danzing or Poland, but about the belief of both the German people and their enemies that capacity to dictate a solution of these issues would constitute a serious threat to the survival of the power, ideals, culture, or welfare of the group which submitted to this dictation.

When a buffalo is attacked by a hungry lion, there is no doubt about the immediate survival problem involved for both the lion and the buffalo, however remote may be the bearing of

the incident upon the survival of the species of buffalo and lion. Somewhat more remote is the bearing upon his own or his tribes survival when a primitive tribesman goes on the warpath to avenge an intrtribal murder, to vindicate a taboo, or to fulfil a ritual; but the relationship seems clear to the tribesman because the requirement of tribal mores in the situation has the aspect of a fact. The tribe consists in the unquestioned reality of these customs and in the conviction that it would cease to exist if they were neglected.

Even more remote from the needs of the individual and the state was the bearing of a campaign to expand the Roman frontier into Gaul, the Moslem frontiers into Africa, or the Christian frontiers into Palestine. The meaning of Rome, of Islam, or of Christendom has to be understood by a considerable public. The importance that they increase in territory, population, and glory had to be inculcated by education, even though the willingness to support the campaign, derived from a belief in the survival value of such expansion, was buttressed by the prospect of immediate rewards to the active participants.

In the modern situation far more econceptual construction is necessary to make war appear essential to the survival of anything important. War, therefore, rests, in modern civilization upon an elaborate ideological construction maintained through education in a system of language, law, symbols, and ideals. The explanation and interpretation of these systems are often as

remote from the actual sequence of events as are the primitive emplanations of war in terms of the requirements of magic, ritual, or revenge. War in the modern period does not grow out of a situation but out of a highly artificial interpretation of a situation. Since war is more about words than about things, other manipulations of words and symbols might better serve to meet the cultural and personality problems for which it offers an increasingly inadequate and expensive solution.

4.1.:4: TECHNOLOGICAL UTILITY OF WAR: The verbal constructions which have had most to do with war in the modern period have been those which center about the words "power", "sovereignty", "nationality", and "living". These words may, respectively, the interpreted as attributes of the government, the state, the nation, and the people. By taking any one as an absolute value, the personality may be delivered from the restlessness of ambivalence and from the doubts and perplexities which arise from the effort to reconcile duty to conflicting institutions and ideals, particularly in times of rapid change. While the relation of war to the preservation of any of these entities requires considerable interpretation, the validity of the interpretation vaires with respect to the four entities.

The power of the government refers to its capacity to make its decisions effective through the hierarchy of civil and military officials. In a balance-of-power structure of world politics even a minor change in the relative power position of

governments is likely to precipitate an accelerating process, destroying some of the governing elites and augmenting the power of others. If a government yields strategic territory, military resources, or other constituents of power to another without compensating advantage, it is quite likely to be preparing its own des truction. The theory which considers war a necessary instrument in the preservation of political power is relatively close to the facts. The most important technological cause of war in the modern world is its utility in the struggle for power.

The sovereignty of the state refers to the effectiveness of its law. This rests immediately on customary practices and on the prestige and reputation for power of the state rather than upon power itself. Sensitiveness about departures from established rules about honour and insult to reputation has a real relation to the preservation ofsovereignty. A failure to resent contempt for rights or aspersions on prerogative may initiate a rapid decline of reputation and increase the occasions when power will actually have to be resorted to if the legal system is to survive. Thus in the undeveloped state of international law self-help and the war to defend national honor have a real relation to the survival of states.

Nationality refers to the expectation of identical reactions to the basic social symbols by the members of the national group. It has developed principally from common language, traditions, customs, and ideals and has often persisted through

political dismemberment of the group. While national minorities have usually resisted the efforts of the administration and the economic system of the state to assimilate them, these influences may in time be successful. Thus, the use of force to preserve the power of the government and the sovereignty of the state supporting a given nationality may be important to the preservation of the latter. War, however, is less certainly useful to preserve nationality than to preserve power or sovereignty.

Living refers to the welfare and economy of a people. The argument has often been made that war is necessary to assure a people an area sufficient for prosperous living. Under the conditions of the modern world this argument has usually been fallacious. The problem of increasing the welfare of a people has not depended upon the extension of political power or legal sovereignty into new areas but rather upon the elimination of the costs of war and depression, improvements in technology and land utilization, and a widening of markets and sources of raw materials far beyond any territories or spheres of interest which might be acquired by war. Population pressure, unavailability of raw materials, and loss of markets more frequently result from military preparation than cause it. While it is true, in a balance-of-power world, economic bargaining power may increase with political power, yet it has seldom increased enough to compensate for the cost of maintaining a military establishment, of fighting occasional wars, and of impairing confidence in international economic stability. Through most of modern history people, even

if conquered, have not ceased to exist and to consume goods. Recent tendencies toward economic self-sufficiency and toward the forced migration, extermination, or enslavement of conquered peoples have, however, added to the reasonableness of war for the preservation of the life of peoples.

Modern civilization offers a group more alternatives to war in most contingencies than did earlier civilizations and cultures. Resort to war, except within the restricted conception of necessary self-defense, is rarely the only way to preserve power or sovereignty and even more rarely the only way to preserve nationality or economy. War is most useful as a means to power and progressively less useful as a means to preserve sovereignty, nationality, or economy. That economic factors are relatively unimportant in the causation of war was well understood by Adolf Hitler:

> Whenever economy was made the sole content of our people's life, thus suffocating the ideal virtues, the State collapsed again.... If one asks oneself the question what the forces forming or otherwise preserving s tate are in reality, it can be summed up with one single characterization: the individual's ability and willingness to sacrifice himself for the community. But that these virtues have really nothing whatsoever to do with economics is shown by the simple realization that man never sacrifices himself for them; that means: one does not die for business, but for ideal (Mein Kanif: 1939).

4.1:5 : LEGAL RATIONALITY OF WAR. Which of these entities for which men fight is most important for men? Is there any criterion by which they may be rationally evaluated? Political power has been transferred from village to tribe, from feudal lord to king, from state to federation. Is it important today that it remain forever with the national governments that now possess it? The transfer of power to a larger group, the creation of a world-police, whether under a world federation or empire adequate to sanction a law against aggression, appears a condition for eliminating the first cause of war.

Legal sovereignty also has moved from city-state to empire, from baronial castle to kingdom, from state to federation. To the individual the transfer of authority over his language and law to a larger group, while it has brought nostalgia or resentment, has assured order, justice, and peace in larger areas and has increased man's control of his environment, provided that authority has been exercised with such understanding and deliberation as to avoid resentments arising to the point of revolt.

Nationality, in the broadest sense of a feeling of cultural solidarity, has similarly traveled from village to tribe, city-state, kingdom, nation, empire, or even civilization; but, when it has become too broad, it has become too thin to give full satisfaction to the human desires for social identification and distinctiveness. There is no distinctiveness

in being a member of the human race. Few would contemplate a world of uniform culture with equanimity. Geographical barriers and historic traditions promise for a long time to preserve cultural variety even in a world-federation, though modern means of communication and economy have exterminated many quaint customs and constumes. The need of cultural variety and the love of distinctive nationality suggests that a world police power is more likely to be effective if controlled by a universal federation rather than by a universal empire.

The area from which individuals have obtained their living has expanded from the village to the tribal area to the kingdom and empire, until, in the modern world, most people draw something from the most remote sections of the world. This widening of the area of exchange has augmented population and standards of living. Diminution of this area, such as occurred when the Roman Empire disintegrated into feudal manors, has had a reverse effect. The economist can make no case for economic walls, if economy is to be an instrument of human welfare rather than of political power, except in so far as widespread practices on the latter assumption force the welfare-minded to defend their existing economy through utilizing it temporarily as an instrument of power.

It may be questioned whether a rational consideration of the symbols, for the preservation of which wars have been fought, demonstrate that they have always been worth fighting

for or that fighting has always contributed to their preservation. The actual values of these entities as disclosed by philosophy and the actual means for preserving them as disclosed by science are, however, less important in the causation of war than popular beliefs engendered by the unreflecting acceptance of the implications of language, custom, symbols, rituals, and traditions. It is in the modification of these elements of national cultures so that they will conform more precisely to the ends accepted by modern civilization and to the means likely to secure those ends that a more peaceful world-order can gradually be developed. Such a work of education and propaganda cannot be effective unless it proceeds simultaneously in all important national cultures. A minimum acceptance by all of certain world standards is the price of peace. The definition and maintenance of such standards require the co-operation of international education, international jurisprudence, international administration, and international politics.

4.2: OPINIONS ON THE CAUSES OF WAR

The phrase "causes of war has been used in many senses. Quincy wright have declared the cause of world war I to have been the Russian or the German mobilization; the Austrian ultimatum, the Sarajevo assassination the aims and ambitions of the Kaiser Poincare, 12 Volsky. Berchtold, or some one else, the desire of France to recover Alsace-Lorraine or of Austria

to dominate the Balkans, the European system of alliances, the activities of the munition-makers, the international bankers, or the diplomats, the lack of an adequate European political order; arnament rivalries; colonial rivalries, commercial policies the sentiment of nationality; the concept of sovereignty; the struggle for existence; the tendency of nations to expand; the unequal distribution of population, of resources, or of planes of living; the law of diminishing returns; the value of war as an instrument of national solidarity or as an instrument of national policy; ethnocentrism or group egotism; the failure of the human spirit; and many others (Barnes H.E.: 1926 & Jahnson E. Julia: 1926).

To some a cause of war is an event, condition, act, or personality involved only in a particular war; to others it is a general proposition applicable to many wars. To some it is a class of human motives, ideals, or values; to others it is a class of impersonal forces, conditions, processes, patterns or relations. To some it is the entrance or injection of a disturbing factor into a stable situation; to others it is the lack of essential conditions of stability in the situation itself or the human failure to realize potentialities. These differences of opinion reflect different meanings of the word "cause". The three sentences, respectively, contrast causes of war in the historic and scientific senses, in the practical and scientific senses, and in the historic and practical senses (Quincy Wright: 1954).

In the practical sense a cause is any controllable element in the statement of the origin, treatment, solution, or

In the scientific sense the cause of the changes in any variable is a change in any other variable in a proposition stating the relations of all the factors in a process or equilibrium (Quincy Wright: 1954). Sometimes the statement itself is elliptically spoken of as the cause of variations in any of its factos. Thus it is sometimes said that heavenly bodies and falling apples behave as they do because of the law of gravitation or the rent is paid because of the law of diminishing returns. A scientific statement usually asserts that if all factors can be ignored, except those observable, controllable, and presumptively measurable factors which it deals with as variables, parameters, or constants, a specified degree of change in any variable tends to be followed immediately or in a specified time by a specified degree of change in the other variables.

In the historic sense a cause is any event or condition figuring in the description of the relevant antecedents of an effect. Such a description is usually called a history and is confined to events within a time or space sufficiently near to the effect to be presumably related to it. Proximity in time or space thus establishes a presumption of causal relation, though this presumption ought to be confirmed by other evidence to avoid the post hoc fallacy. Evidence may indicate that proximate events were unrelated, and it may also indicate the transmission of influence from remote times and distant places (J. Bouvier: 1872)

In the practical sense a cause is any controllable element in the statement of the origin, treatment, solution, or

meaning of a problem or situation. Such statements in medicine are called diagnoses, prognoses, prophylaxes, or treatments, and in social affairs, reports, interpretations, programs, policies, or plans. Such statements of social problems usually emphasize the human actions responsible for the situation and the human actions deemed to be the most effective for realizing desired ends in the circumstances of the time and place where the statement is made (G.K.K. Link: 1932).

It will be observed that in none of these cases is the word "cause" used as someting which exists in phenomena but as something which exists in statements or propositions about phenomena. If one is convinced that a proposition is true (L. Oppenheim: 1937) he means that he is convinced that the proposition accurately describes the phenomena. Consequently, if the truth of a proposition has been established, then the word "cause" can be considered either a term of the proposition or a phenomenon designated by the term. While superficially the scientific, historic, and practical senses of the word "cause" appear to be very different, fundamentally they are merely different approaches to the same concept. A cause of an entity, an event, or a condition is a term of a true proposition capable of explainigg predicting, or controlling its existence or changes (Abraham Wolf: 1937).

a) <u>Scientific causes of war</u> - Scientists, in searching for the causes of phenomena, assume that the universal and the

particular are aspects of one reality. They attempt to classify, combine, or analyse particular events into general concepts or ideas which represent measurable, controllable, repeatable, and observable phenomena capable of being treated a variables or constants in a formula.

While scientists realize that there are events in any field of study which have not yet been included in classes which can be precisely defined or measured, they are reluctant to believe that any factors are permanently "vague" and "imponderable"- a belief frequently held by practical men, historians, and poets. In dealing with war, scientists prefer concepts such as military forces, public opinion, attitudes, population, and international trade, which have been measured, even though crudely, or concepts such as jurisdiction, arbitration, war, aggression, and right, which have a precise meaning in a body of law, rather than such concepts as personal influence, civilizing mission, imperialism, accidental events, and social potentialities, which have neither of these characteristics. They prefer concepts which denote things which can be manipulated and experimented with, though this is often difficult in the social sciences. They prefer concepts which represent series of events that appear continuously or in regular cycles or oscillations in history, so that interpolation or extrapolation is possible where data are lacking. They prefer concepts which represent classes of facts that are abundant in the records or in the contemporary world, so that the properties of these classes can be verified by the use of histo-

rical sources or observation (Leonard Bloomfield: 1938).

The scientifically minded have attempted to describe the normal functioning of the forces, interests, controls, and motives involved in international relations and to formulate abstract propositions relating, respectively, to the balance of power, to international law, to international organization, and to public opinion (David Hume: 1854). While they have sometimes included war as a periodic recurrence in such normal functioning they have usually attributed war to the high degree of unmeasurability, uncontrollability, incompleteness, or uncertainty of the factors which they have studied. Thus they have attributed war (I) to the difficulty of maintaining stable equilibrium among the uncertain and fluctuating political and military forces within the state system (C.J. Friedrich, New York: 1938), (2) to the inadequacy of its sources and sanctions continually to keep international law an effective analysis of the changing interests of states and the changing values of humanity (Sir J.F. Williams (Oxford: 1932), (3) to the difficulty of so organizing political power that it can maintain internal order in a society not in relation to other societies external to itself (Lasswell, London: 1927) and (4) to the difficulty of making peace a more important symbol in world public opinion than particular symbols which may locally, temporarily, or generally favor war (Norman Angell: 1937). In short, scientific investigators, giving due consideration to both the historic inertia and the

and the Ems telegram from Bismarck announcing the king's refusal.

inventive genius of mankind, have tended to attribute war to immaturities in social knowledge and control, as one might attribute epidemics to insufficient medical knowledge or to inadequate public health services (W.E. Darby: 1904).

b) Historical causes of war - Historians assume that the future is a development of the past which includes, however, forward-looking intentions and aspirations. They attempt to classify events into ideas which represent commonly observed processes of change and development. Because of the common experience of small incidents releasing stored forces- the match and the fuse- they frequently distinguish the occasion from the causes of war (W.E.H. Lecky: 1870). Because people ordinarily think they are familiar with biological evolution, with psychological and sociological processes, with economic, political, and religious interests, historians have customarily classified the causes of war under such headings (H.E. Barnes: 1928).

This method may be illustrated by the causes of the Franco-Prussian War set forth in Ploetz's Manual of Universal History (Karl Ploetz: 1915). These are divided into "immediate causes", "special causes", and "general causes". The first were said to be certain events which shortly preceded the war, including the election of the prince of Hohenzollern to the throne of Spain, the French demand that the Prussian king should never again permit the candidacy of the prince for the Spanish crown, and the Ems telegram from Bismarck announcing the king's refusal.

The special causes were said to be the internal troubles of the French government, the controversy concerning French compensation for the Prussian aggrandizement of 1866, and the news of new German infantry weapons threatening the superiority of the French chassepot. The general causes were stated to be the French idea of natural frontiers as including the left bank of the Rhine and the long struggle of the German nation for unification, together with the French anxiety over it.

Historians have thus sought to demonstrate causes by drawing from a detailed knowledge of the antecedents of a particular war events, circumstances, and conditions which can be related to the war by practical, political, and juristic commonplaces about human motives, impulses, and intentions. When they have written of the causes of war in a more general way, they have meant simply a classification of the causes of the particular wars in a given period of history. Thus certain of the causes of the Franco-Prussian War have been described by such words as "aggressive policies," "Changes in military techniques," "domestic difficulties", "unsettled controversies," "dynastic claims", "aspirations for national unification", "historic rivalries", and "insulting communications". Even broader generalizations have been made classifying the causes of war in the Western world as political, juristic, idealistic, and psychological. When generalization has reached this stage, the result is not unlike the scientific approach, for such words as "an

ideal," "a psychological attitude", "a policy", or "a law" represent concepts which, though limited by the historian to a historic epoch, are universals which may be manifested in varying degrees in all times and places. They are, in fact, variables susceptible, in theory, to mathematical treatment, however difficult it may be practically to measure their variations.

c) Practical causes of war - Practical politicians, publicists, and jurists assume that changes result from free wills operating in an environment. They attempt to classify events according to the motives and purposes from which they seem to proceed. Their assumptions have thus resembled those of the historians, though they have formulated their problems toward practical ends and have often excluded events and impersonal forces which the historian frequently considers. Because men like to rationalize their actions, publicists have often distinguished the pretexts from the causes of war (E. de Vattel: 1916). Because they recognize that no free will ever really acts without antecedents, and therefore the origin of a series of causal events has to be determined arbitrarily, they have distinguished proximate from remote causes. While they have sometimes attributed wars to the failure of society to adopt particular reforms or to modify certain conditions, (Quincy Wright: 1925) they have usually distinguished causes attributable to a responsible person from impersonal conditions and potential reforms. In the same way physicians more frequently attribute an illness to a germ

rather than to the susceptibility of the patient because of a run-down condition or to his failure to take preventive or remedial precautions.

Practical men have, then, usually thought of war as a manifestation of human nature with its complex of ambitions, desires, purposes, animosities, aspirations, and irrationalities. They have insisted that the degree of consciousness or responsibility to be attributed to such manifestations is an important factor in devising measures for dealing with the problem. Classification of human motives from this point of view is familiar in law (J.W. Salmod: 1902) and economics. Publicists have often distinguished necessary, customary, rational, and capricious acts in the causation of war. They suggest that wars arise in the following situations: (i) Men and governments find themselves in situations where they must fight or cease to exist, and so they fight from necessity (Friedrich Bernhardi: 1912), (ii) Men and governments have a custom of fighting in the presence of certain stimulae, and so in appropriate situations they fight (W. Lloyd Warner: 1931), (iii) Men or governments want something- wealth, power, social solidarity- and, if the device of war is known to them and other means have failed, they use was as a means to get what they want (Clausewitz: 1911), (iv) Men and governments feel like fighting because they are pugnacious, bored, the victims of frustrations or complexes, and accordingly they fight spontaneously for relief or relaxation (John Carter: 1926). this part

Thus among each class of writers, whether the effort has been to construct a formula relating measurable factors, to narrate a comprehensible process of change, or to describe the reactions by which the generally recognized human motives affect the environment, the process of generalizing from concrete events has developed similar categories. The historian, however, has usually kept closest to the events, and the scientists have been most bold in generalization, often resting to a considerable extent on the shoulders of the historian and the publicist. (1) Scientists, historians, and publicists have each generalized about material forces in the state system, though they have referred to them, respectively, as the balance of power, political factors, and necessity. (2) So also each has generalized about ideological influences under the names of international law, juristic factors, and custom. (3) They have generalized concerning sociological structures, respectively, under the heads of international organization, idealism, and reason. (4) The reactions of personality have, finally, been generalized by the three classes of writers under the names of public opinion, psychological or economic factors, and caprice or emotion.

Whether evidence is sought in the study of wars themselves or in the study of competent generalizations about war, the same classification of the causes of war is suggested. War has politico-technological, juro-ideological, socio-religious, and psycho-economic causes. The following sections of this part

of the study conform to this classification. They assume, respectively, that the belligerents are powers which become involved in war in the process of organizing political and material forces in ever larger areas, that they are states which became involved in war in the attempt to realize more complete legal and ideological unity, that they are nations which became involved in war in the effort to augment the influence of particular political, social, and religious symbols, and that they are peoples which become involved in war through behaving according to prevailing psychological and economic patterns. These four points of view emphasize, respectively, the technique, the law, the functions, and the drives of war (Quincy Wright:1954).

4.3 CAUSES OF CHANDELA'S WAR

The historians of each of these wars have usually distinguished idealistic psychological, political, and jurdical elements in their causation (Q.Wright & Jackson, H.R.: 1941). They have frequently referred to changes in climate, resources, economy, technology, and other material conditions; but they have usually assumed that such changes can cause war only in so far as they influence one or more of these socio-psychological patterns.

(i) Moslem conquests.

(ii) Prestige of the Chandela's family.

(iii) Chandelas to be ranked among the leading contemporary powers of Northern India.

(iv) Extent of the kingdom.

(v) For political influence

(vi) For help to other ruler.

4.3:1: War for Moslem Conquests: Islam carried onwars of conquest in the seventh century. The new religion; by fixing attention upon common symbols; had inspired many of the Arabs with a missionary zeal. Many successive invaders- greeks, Parthians, Scythans, and Huns- had entered India through the north-western passes; they exercised; however, but little influence on Indian life in general. They all either returned when they came, or were indue time absorbed in the general population. The religions and social life of the Indian people has remained through all the centuries under the direction and control of the Brahman priesthood. For some centuries it seemed as if the Buddhist revolt would succeed in introducing a leaven into Indian life and thought destined to change permanently Indian social and religious conditions; but the Brahmanical influence proved too strong. But just at the time when Buddhism was being steadily superseded in India by the accommodating Brahmanical faith; and a new prophet had arisen in Arabia and launched on the world a new faith destined to supply a youthful energy and fanaticism which should sweep the country from the Himalayas to cape comorin and from the western to the eastern sease. The Chinese piligrim Hiven Tsang was still on his travels in India when Muhammad the founder of Islam; died in Medina (632A.D.). Islam had taken on a

military aspect even before the death of its founder. The political work of Muhammad consisted in the subjugating and uniting of Arabia; until this time a varied collection of cities and tribes under different governmental systems in perpetual conflict. The prophet took the further step of summoning the great king of the surrounding nations to recognise Islam, and threatening them with punishment in case of refusal. The task of carrying out these threat fell to the lot of his successors. In a few years Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt and Persia were compelled to submit to the Khalifas, the successors of Muhammad and to embrace the new religions.

4.3:1:a: Turk's Invasions : The Arab invasion of India thus proved to be a failoure. The Arabs ceased to hold exclusive control over the movement of Islam, and they had no hand in its spread into India. Another race, the Afgan Turks, advancing from another direction assumed the burden of conquering India in the interests of the new faith and the great store of plunder awaiting them. In the latter part of the tenth century, Sabuktagin, a former Turkish slave, in connection with the Samanid dynasty of north-east Persia and Transoxiana under the surerainty of the Khalifas of Bagdad, succeeded to the semi-indepdent rule which his father-in-law Alptagin, another Turkish slave, had established at Ghazni, between Kabul and Kandahar in Afghanistan. Sabuktagin's son and succesor. Mahmud, began his reign in 998A.C. and became the greatest Muhammaden ruler of his time. Soon after

succeeding to his father's dominions; Qadir, Khalifa of Bagdad recognised his sovereignty and conferred on him the tilles Yaminaddaula (Right hand of the state) and Amin-ul-millat (Guardian of the faith) these new honours aroused in Mahmud a new zeal on beholaf of Islam, and he resolved on an annual expedition against the idolaters of India. He did not carry out to the full this intension; but during the thirty-two years of his reign he made no fewer than fifteen in cursions into India. The Arabs had come by way of the sea and the Baluchistan route; and as a result found little in India but the desert of Sindh. Mahmud and his successors made their way through the north-western passes into the rich cites and plains of the Punjab and the Ganges valley.

3.1:b Mahmud's Raids : The first raid took place in 1000 A.D., the last in 1026 and during these compaigns he ranged across the plains of northern India from the Indus to the Ganges; taking the strong and wealthy cities of Peshawar, Thanesar, Kanauj, Mathura and Kalinjar.

3.1:c: Afghans of Ghor- the Rulers : The Afghans of Ghor thus rose to power on the downfall of the turks of Bhazni. Ala-ud-din's nephew, Muhammad Ghori is the second of the great Muhammadan conquerous of India, and it was he, rather than Mahmud, that laid the foundations of permanent Muhammadan rule in India. Becoming sultan of Ghazni in 1174 A.D., he at first made a number of incursions into India. After the manner of Mahmud, but in

1191 he gathered together a great host for the conquest of India, and met in battle Prithviraj the famous ruler of Delhi and Ajmir. Ghore capital of Delhi became the centre of Muahmmadan rule; Aibad Kuth-ud-din, an able and trusted slave of Muhammad, was made Viceroy of Delhi, Muhammadan power became rapidly extended in the south, wast and west. Kanauj was stormed and Jaichand, its king Slain. Kalinjar, Jalwa and Gujarat were reduced, and Muhammad Bakhtiyar, the lieutenant of the Ghori king, conquered Oudh, Bihar, and Bengal by 1204.

4.3:II: War for the Prestige of the Chandela Stamily : Yasovarman was practically the first independent ruler of the Chandela dynasty who may be regarded to have laid the foundations of the greatness of the family. The Chandelas as has already been shown become feudatieries of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. But the imperial power had to fight the Rastrakutas of the Deccan repeatedly. This must have heavily told on their resources, compelling them to seek the aid of their feudatories, the Guhilots and the Chandelas. The feudatories felt that their help was of paramount importance in maintaining the Pratihara over lordship and would naturally seek the earliest opportunity to shake of their allegiance.

The Chandela by their successful interference in the affairs of Kanauj had earned for themselves a distinction in north-Indian politics and carried themselves one step forward such was the position of the Chandelas when Ysovarman came to

the throne, succeeding his father, Harsa. The Rastrakutas had in the meantime been enfeebled by disruptive dynastic quarrels which made it difficult for them to play a decisive role in northern India. The dismemberment of two great imperial dynasties of India almost simultaneously in the middle of the 10th century A.D. offers a golden opportunity to subsidiary powers to take the best advantage of the resulting situation Yasovarman, the Chandelas ruler, did not miss this chance of increasing his family's power and prestige, he began to engage himself in military operation; with a view to extending his territorial possessions.

4.3:III: War for the Chandela's to be Ranked Among the Leading Contemporary Powers of Northern India : Yasovarman, we have seen, laid the foundation of the greatness of the family and Dhanga, it must be admitted ably and steadfastly followed the footstops of his father and by his own achievements established the claim of the Chandelas to be ranked among the leading contemporary powers of northern India.

It was during the reign of Dhanga that we meet with for the first time a definite demarcation of the limits of the Chandelas kingdom, as indicated in the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 V.45 of which read as follows (Tras). He playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kalinjar and for as Bhagvat situated on the banks of the river of Malwa, from here also to the bank of the river Kalindi and

from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country, and even as far as the mountain called Gopa.

Chandela kingdom during the reign of Dhanga included two strategic fortresses of Northern India, viz. Kalinjar and Gwalior. The territory thus brought under the control of Dhanga.

4.3:IV : War for the Extent of the Kingdom : Dhanga like his father, undertook expeditions over an wide range indifferent parts of India beyond the limits of the territory actually held by the Chandelas. Hisachievements in this respect are mentioned in verses 45 and 46 of the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059. These verses refer to Dhanga's possible invasions on some portions of the Peninsular India, beyond the Vindhyan as well as on some of the states of Eastern India, viz. Kosala, Krath, Kuntala, Simhala, Andhra, Anga and Radha. In this case too like that of his predecessor in verse 23 of the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011, there are some obvious exaggerations. But in spite of that it is generally admitted that Dhanga's military potentiality helped him to rise to an important position in the history of Northern India.

4.3:V: War for Political Influence : The account of the Chandela ruler is undoubtedly as exaggerated description of the court poet. But the study of the history of the period would reveal that the condition of the powers mentioned in the verse, viz. the Kasiraja, the Malavesa and the Cedis, particularly during this period was

not quite strong to withstand the on slaught of a vigorous ruler of the Chandela family. As such, it may not be a mere Prasasti to describe that the Chandela king, Madanavarman was able to exert his political influence over those powers. There was no question of any expansion of the Chandela dominion at the cost of any of these powers, but they might have had to submit before the military might of the Chandela ruler.

4.3:VI: War for the Help of Other Ruler :

(i) The Chandela had helped the Pala ruler Devapala in his war against Bhoja-Pratihara.

(ii) The Chandela ruler Harsa had helped the Mahipala and saved his life in his war against Rastrakuta's.

(iii) The Chandela ruler Dhanga had helped Jayapala, the Sahi ruler of Bhatinda, with troop and money.

(iv) Kirthiraja, who commanded the fort of Gwalior at the time of Mahmud's invasion in A.D. 1022. He further suggests that the reference by Nizamuddin to the Prince of Gwalior at the time of Mahmud's invasion as Hakim and the statement that Mahmud reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of Nanda, indicate that the ruler of Gwalior was subordinate to the ruler of Kalinjar. He (Kirttiraja's) success against the Paramara ruler was achieved with the help of the mighty Chandela king.

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CHAPTER-IV

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CHAPTER-V

CHANDEL'S MILITARY ORGANIZATION

MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF CHANDELA EMPIRE (9A.D. to 12 A.D.)

5.1: THE ARMY IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT

Ancient political thinkers of India conceived the state as consisting of seven essential elements (Prakrtis), of which the army was one. The conception dates from pre-Kautilyan times, and was accepted as an axiomatic truth by all later writers. The army was thus accorded a recognised position in the state-organism. But it is nowhere held up as the supreme element. In contemporary thought it usually takes rank as sixth in the order of gradation. There is a discussion in the Arthasastra (Bk. VIII: 1923, Ch. I) as to the relative importance of the army (danda) and the treasury (kosa), and Kautilya pronounces himself definitely in favour of the latter. "The army", he says, "may go to the enemy, or murder the king himself, and bring about every kind of trouble. But finance is the chief means of observing virtuous acts and of enjoying desires". Later writers, though adhering to the general principles of Kautilya, show a more positive inclination to idolise the army. Kamandaka (XIII: 1912), for instance, says that "even the foes of a king, possessing an efficient army, are turned into friends; a king with a strong army rules the earth unhampered". In the Sukraniti

(Ch. I, II, 1914), the relation of the army to the state has been compared with that of the mind to the man. As without the mind the human organism cannot work, so without the army the state-organism comes to a standstill. "Without the army". Sukra writes elsewhere (ch. IV, sec. ii, II: 1914), "there is neither kingdom nor wealth, nor prowess. The treasury is the root of the army, and the army is the root of the treasury. It is by maintaining the army that the treasury and the kingdom prosper, and the enemy is destroyed".

5.2: 'FOUR-FOLD' DIVISION OF THE ARMY

In the Vedic period the army apears to have consisted of two divisions, viz. foot-soldiers (patti) and car-warriors (rathin). During the post-Vedic period, however, the horse and the elephant were incorporated in the fighting corps. Hence from the time of the Jatakas (1895) there came into vogue a new category in Hindu politico-military thought. It is the 'four-fold' army-caturangabala or caturanga-camu. This 'four-fold' division of the army is a common feature throughout ancient literature. In course of time it was transformed into a literary convention, and the convention outlasted the extinction of one of the arms. As will be shown later, war chariots fell into total disuse about the 7th century A.D. But long after their abandonment as instruments of war, and long after the four-fold army had in actual practice become three-fold, the convention of caturanga-bala continued intact, and is referred to both in later literature

and inscriptions. We shall here cite only two instances. In the Manasollasa (sl. 1176, p. 134) there is a mention of the epithet, though internal evidence proves beyond doubt that war-cars were no longer in use. So also the Jabalpur copper-plate of 1122 A.D. (Ep. Ind. 11, 3) refers to the army of Yastikarnadeva as caturanga, notwithstanding the fact that chariots did not form part of the war-apparatus of that king (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

It should be noted here that the relative position of the four arms differed from age to age. Both Vedic and epic testimony prove that in the earliest period of our history, as in that of Greece, the chariots constituted the most important arm. The knights and nobles drove in chariots to the front line, and from them showered their missiles on the opposing knights and their masses of followers. But from the 4th century B.C. onwards, as already stated, the elephant occupied the first rank in the military service. The infantry and the cavalry seem to have always remained in a subsidiary position in the Hindu military system.

5.3: 'SIX-FOLD' DIVISION OF THE ARMY

Besides the above classification of the army into four arms, there was also in vogue a six-fold division, presumably based on the area or source of recruitment. According to this conception, the army was supposed to consist of six 'limbs' (sadanga), these being the hereditary troops (maula), mercenaries

(bhrta), gild levies (sreni), soldiers supplied by feudatory chiefs or allies (suhrdbalam), troops captured or won over from the enemy (dvisadbalam), and forest tribes (atavi-balam). The earliest references to this six-fold division occur in the epics and the Arthasastra; but they may be traced in such late works as the Kamandakiya and Manasollasa, and in inscriptions ranging from the 6th to the 11th century (Kautilya Arthasastra: 1923).

Of the different classes of troops mentioned above, ancient military opinion appears to have attached the greatest importance to the maulas or hereditary troops. Graded qualitatively, the mercenaries came after the maulas, next came the gild levies, next the allied troops, while the forest tribes were placed at the bottom of the scale. In the Arthasastra (BK, IX, ch. 2:1931), Kautilya gives elaborate reasons in support of the above gradation. "A maula force", he says, "is more important than the bhrta force in as much as it is dependent on the king for its existence, and is the recipient of constant favour from the latter". Mercenaries are better than gild levies because they are obedient to the king, stationed near at hand, and always ready to march. Similarly gild levies are better than allied troops on the ground that they belong to the same country as the king, have the same objects in view, the "same expectations of loss and gain," and are actuated by the same feelings of rivalry and anger. Kautilya proceeds in the same strain to show why he considers the allied troops superior to renegades from the hostile country, and the latter again

to forest tribes. With regard to the two last, he says: "Both these are anxious for plunder. In the absence of plunder and in times of difficulty, they prove as dangerous as a lurking snake (Kautilaya Arthasastra: 1923). These views of Kautilya have been faithfully reproduced in the Nitisara of Kamandaka (XIX, 4-9); but they do not appear to have been universally shared. In the passage from the Mahabharata, already referred to, the gild levies are considered as important as the mercenaries. In the Manasollasa (sl. 557-561), again, the hereditary, mercenary and allied troops are estimated as the best, the gild levies as of medium quality, and the forest tribes as the worst, while troops from the hostile country (amitraja-balam) are declared to be absolutely untrustworthy.

The maulas appear to have resembled the personal retainers of the early German chieftains. Professor F.W. Thomas suggests that they were probably "connected by caste, and ultimately by race, with the king himself, such as in later times we find in the quasi-feudal states of Rajputana (Cambridge History of India: 1922). Most ancient writers emphasise their unfaltering loyalty to the king (Kautilya Arthasastra: 1923). In the Arthasastra, (Bk. II, ch. 35) Kautilya speaks of villages which were exempted from taxation in lieu of the military services which they rendered to the state. It seems reasonable to believe that the maulas were endowed with rent-free lands, besides cash wages when on active service. Elsewhere, (Bk. IX, ch. 2), the Shamasastry

outlines the circumstances under which this class of troops should be mobilised against the enemy. "When the king, "he writes, "thinks that the number of his maula troops is more than is necessary for the defence of his kingdom, or when he apprehends that his maula force is disaffected and may cause disturbance when he is away, or when the enemy has under command a large and loyal body of hereditary troops, and is therefore to be fought out with much skill on his part, or when it is expected that the journey would be so tedious and the duration of fight so long that a maula force can alone endure the wear and tear, or when the enemy is known to be in possession of a powerful secret service, in which case the mercenary and other kinds of troops cannot be relied upon lest they may lend their ears to the intrigues of the enemy, or when the king thinks that other kinds of troops are wanting in strength, then is the time for mobilising the maula force. (Kautilya Arthasastra: 1923). It is thus clear that this class of troops was not only considered as the most reliable (for they alone could be trusted in the face of a powerful secret service of the enemy), but as possessed of the greatest skill and fortitude. And this, in part, accounts for and perhaps justifies the special privileges which the state bestowed upon them. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, had perhaps these maulas in view, when he wrote about the so-called National Guard of India. This National Guard, he says, are real heroes of choice valour, and, as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the

sovereign's residence, and in war they become the intrepid vanguard" (Walters Thomas: 1904-05).

Two other classes of troops which require some explanation are the gild levies and the forest tribes. The former have provided the basis for a considerable amount of historical speculation in recent years. In his translation of the Arthasastra (pp. 393-401), Dr. Shamasastry renders the term sreni-balam as the "corporation of soldiers". Professor DrR. Bhandarkar (1919) takes it to mean "tribal bands of mercenaries". In the opinion of Dr. R.C. Majumdar (1922) again, the term refers to "a class of guilds which followed some industrial arts and carried on military profession at one and the same time". On the other hand, Mr. Monahan (1926) makes the following observation on the point: "Probably the military srenis were special troops, composed of men of different fighting races, who enlisted in the royal army under their own chiefs. They would be called sreni from analogy to trade guilds, and, no doubt, served for pay, perhaps under a contract made between the king and the 'sreni-mukhya'. Lastly, Professor Thomas, writing in the Cambridge History of India (1922) (I, 489), says that the srenis probably refer to "ordinary trade-guilds, as an organisation for calling out the people for service in time of invasion, a sort of militia or landwehr".

On a close examination of the evidence at our disposal, it appears that there were two types of military srenis in existence in ancient India. First, there were those who like the

Swiss Guard of medieval Europe, formed themselves into a quasi-military corporation and placed their services at the disposal of the highest bidder on the occasion of an armed conflict between two or more states. Such were probably the Vahikas, Yaudheyas and certain other tribes in the time of Panini, for he has referred to them as ayudhajivi-samghah, i.e. guilds dependent on the profession of arms for their livelihood. The Kasika mentions more than sixty examples of corporations or clans as being included under the rules of Panini (V. 3, 114-117) (R.K. Mukherji: 1920). It is, therefore, probable that at one time or another these military srenis were fairly widespread throughout the country, and they may possibly have played the same part in the military history of India as the Condottieri in that of Italy.

There was, however, a second class of guilds which, as Dr. R.C. Majumdar says, "followed some industrial arts and carried on military profession at one and the same time". Kautilya refers to guilds of this nature in his chapter on Samghavrttam (Bk. XI, ch. I). In the relevant passage, he speaks of Ksatriya srenis, "who lived by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons" in Kamboja and Surastra countries. Obviously these were trade and craft guilds, which, like the Arti Maggori of Florence or the more well-known Hanseatic League of Northern Europe, had occasionally to resort to arms in defence of their commerce and industry. The conditions which brought these commercial-cum-military societies into being appear to have been the same as those under which this great fraternity of traders frequently boats of its

been the same in India as in Europe. Briefly, these conditions were the constant need of protection and the inability of the state to afford it to its citizens. The weakness of the central government, the internecine strifes, the still more dreadful barbarian invasions, and, last but not least, the frequency of brigandage on the highways and along river-routes- all these tended to create an atmosphere of insecurity, in which the industrial and commercial communities, being thrown on their private and local resources for protection, developed a defensive power of their own, which became at once a source of weakness and of strength to the state.

Ancient epigraphic records disclose a few instances of guilds of this nature. The best known case is that of the silk-weavers' guild, referred to in the Mandasor Inscription of Kumara-gupta and Bandhuvarman. The epigraph records that some members of the guild "became excessively well acquainted with the science of archery", and that the guild as a whole was "valorous in battle", and effected "by force the destruction of their enemies (Fleet, C.I.I., III, No. 18: 1902). Another instance of this nature is provided by the Vira-Valanjiyas of the South. These were a great corporation of traders, whose centre was at Aiyavole (modern Aihole), and whose organisation seems to have spread over the greater part of southern India. The name denotes 'valiant merchants', and is therefore similar to the 'Gentlemen Adventurers' of the East India Company. Like the silk weavers' guild of Dasapura this great fraternity of traders frequently boats of its to

prowess and heroism in contemporary inscriptions, and some of its records, to quote Dr. Barnett, "are couched in a tone of regal pomposity (Rice, Mysore Inscriptions: 1902-05). Closely associated with the Vira-Valanjiyas were the Velaikkaras, a federation of working-class communities. They figure prominently in a large number of South Indian, inscriptions and in the Ceylonese chronicle, Mahavamsa. It is clear from these records that they were an exceptionally powerful community, who wielded the sword with as much skill as the sickle. Sometimes they were entrusted with the protection of temples and shrines, with their property, lands and serfs. They supplied regiments to the Cola army and also to the kings of Ceylon. At intervals in the history of the latter country when the rulers were weak, they became the real power behind the throne; and repeated,on a smaller scale, the exploits of the Practorian Guards in the Roman Empire (Madras Epigraphic Report: 1913 and Aiyangar, S.K.:1930).

We have stated before that these commercial-cum-miliary guilds were at once a source of strength and of weakness to the state. They were a source of strength because they provided a means of local defence, when the state, for one reason or another, failed to discharge its normal functions. Moreover, in times of stress and need, without being a drain on the exchequer, they foremd themselves into excellent battalions for the defence of the kingdom to which they owed their allegiance. In the Artha-sastra (Bk. V, ch. 3), dealing with the "subsistence to Government servants", the pay of srenimukhyas is set down as equal to

that of the chiefs of elephants, horses and chariots. And then follows the significant remark: "With this amount they can have a good following in their communities". It is clear that in the age of Kautilya only the leaders of the guilds were paid from the royal treasury while the rank and file served without pay. A statement in the Nitisara of Kamandaka (XIX, 5), proves that the same practice continued well into the last centuries of our period. In the passage, referred to, the author remarks that one of the reasons why the mercenary troops should be considered superior to the guild levies is that the former are dependent on the king for their wages (Vrttesca svamyadhinatvad bhrtam sreni-valad guru). In other words, the guild levies, though they might rally to the support of the king on occasions of grave danger to the state, did not receive any regular wages from the royal exchequer.

The military srenis were a source of weakness to the state because at times they became so powerful as to be able to defy the authority of the king. There are numerous indications in contemporary records to show that they were looked upon with ill-concealed suspicion and hostility by all advocates of absolutism. In the Narada Smrti (X,v.), for instance, it has been enjoined, with reference to guilds and other associations, that "confederacy in secret, resoty to arms without due causes and mutual attacks will not be tolerated by the king. (R.C. Majumdar: 1922) The remark indirectly proves that the guilds sometimes betrayed a predilection for private warfare- a predilection,

inherent in all feudalised communities, but antithetical to all conceptions of sovereignty, ancient or modern. In the Arthasastra, Kautilya makes no attempt to conceal his great distrust of these quasi-military fraternities. The whole of Bk. XI. is one long sermon against them. "Which is better", he asks elsewhere (Bk. VII, ch. 11), "the land with a scattered people, or that inhabited by guilds?" The reply is significant. "The former is better," he says, "in as much as it can be kept under control and is not susceptible to the intrigues of enemies, while the latter is intolerant of calamities and is susceptible of anger and other passions". The same distrust is implied in another passage (Bk. VII, ch. 16), where the author in course of a hypothetical discussion as to the methods that may be employed to keep down a hostile party or group, recommends that guild levies (srenibala) may be "provided with a piece of land, which is under constant troubles from an enemy". It is evident, therefore, that the guilds sometimes became so powerful as to constitute a state within the state. Both Narada and Kautilya seem to imply that their distinguishing characteristics were turbulence, truculence and independence. The Mahavamsa (Ch. LVII and LXXIV) proves that at least twice in the history of Ceylon the Velaikkaras rose in revolt against their legitimate sovereigns- first in the time of Vijayabahu, and a second time in the reign of Parakramabahu I. It was a fight between the two fundamental forces of history, one centripetal and the other centrifugal.

The mention of atavi-balam as a part of military establishment in the Arthasastra shows that the custom of associating predatory bordes with the army goes back to very early times. These predatory hords used to live in vast forests and inaccessible mountains. They appear have been most numerous in central and peninsular India, though they could also be found in other parts of the country. Both literary and epigraphic evidence prove that they were a constant source of danger to peaceful settlements in their neighbourhood. In one place in the Arthasatra (Bk. VIII, ch. 4), Kautilya remarks: "Robbers carry off the property of the careless and can be put down as they are easily recognised and caught hold of, whereas wild tribes have their own strongholds, being numerous and brave, ready to fight in vroad daylight, and seizing and destroying countries like kings". In his Nitisara (XIX, 8), Kamandaka describes them as "wild and undisciplined, faithless, greedy and sinful".

Yet these wild tribes were often employed for military purposes by Hindu kings, in the same manner as the Red Indians were employed by the English and French in their wars in North America They brought their own war-apparatus to the theatre of war, but they fought for pay and plunder. Their services were considered specially helpful when a king's army had to pass through forests and defiles, morasses or mountains, or when it was the intention of the invader to ravage and devastate the enemy's country (Santi Parva: 5a, 48).

It may be noted here that the same custom of associating predatory tribes with the army continued in later ages among the Marathas and the Moghuls. It is well-known that the Pindharis often accompanied a Maratha army in its expeditions, and were employed not so much for fighting as for plundering the country through which they passed. Describing the Moghul army, Manucci writes: "Along with the armies there marched privileged and recognised thieves called Bederia (Bideri); these are the first to invade the enemy's territory, where they plunder everything they find. The handsomest items are reserved for the general; the rest they sell on their own account. Prince Shah Alam, when he was with in the territories of Shivaji, near Goa, had in his army seven thousand such, whose orders were to ravage the lands of the Bardes.

5.4: THREE FOLD DIVISION OF THE CHANDELA'S ARMY

In the early Mediaeval period the importance of the army was greater than ever before, and all the dynasties had to maintain large armies for their security. The main threat came from the neighbouring rulers and the Moslem invaders.

The army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Krishna Misra mentions the use of chariots in the battlefield and another inscription mentions a minister as expert in riding chariots (Geographic Indica, Vol. I, p.201). But chariots were obsolete by this time and it is clear that the reference to them

was merely conventional bows and arrows, spears and swords were the principal arms of the army. Elephants and horses played a dominant part in war and the importance of the elephants has been stressed by various authorities. According to Kautilya (II, 2, VII, II) and other sources (P.V. Kane, 1930, 41, 46) the destruction of the enemy's forces and victory depended on elephants; though one Mahabharata passage states that an army in which the infantry predominates remains firm but that cavalry and chariots are only efficient when there is no rain (Kane; P.V., Poona: 1946) Vidyadhara according to Moslem historians, collected a vast army against sultan Mahmud in A.D. 1022, the figure of which, given in different accounts are as follows: (H.C. Ray: 1936).

	Horseman	Foot Soldiers	Elephants
Nizammudin	36000	145000	390
Ibn-ul-Alhir	36000	184000	746
Gardizi	36000	145000	640
Firishta	36000	045000	640

(Dr. Ray rightly corrects it as 145000)

The general agreement among the Moslem historians regarding the vast numbers of the army tends to suggest that these figures are not excessively exaggerated. [illegible], even from [illegible] and foreigners. They followed the chariot knight as [illegible]ah, anugan or anucarah, but at the knight's death, they usually fled, and when they did not flee, were, as in the Iliad,

5.5: UNITS OF THE ARMY

The Chandela's army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants.

5.5:1 : THE INFANTRY

5.5:1-1: Historical outline : As everywhere else in the world, so in India, the original fighting-man was the foot-soldier. In Vedic times, the infantry (patti) fought along with the car-warriors. One of the epithets of Rudra in the Satarudriya liturgy of the Vajasaneyi Samhita (XVI.19) is "lord of footmen" (partinam pati). In the Atharva Veda (VII. 62, 1) Agni is referred to as conquoring the most powerful opponents, as a combatant on a chariot overcomes men fighting on foot (Ayam Agnih Saptatir Urddha-Ursno Rathiva Pattin Ajayat Purahitah). The statement is important, because it shows that foot-soldiers in the Vedic period were looked upon as a helpless mass when pitted against car-warriors.

The same view of the relative inferiority of the foot-men has been more graphically depicted in the epics. In the war-scenes of the Mahabharata, for instance, they are described as a conglomerate mass, with hardly any individuality or initiative. They were mostly recruited from the lower classes, even from barbarians and foreigners. They followed the charioted knight as padanugah, anugah or anucarah, but at the knight's death, they usually fled, and when they did not floe, were, as in the Iliad,

slaughtered as a herd of sheep who had lost their shepherd. In fact, the epic foot-soldiers seem to have been useful only in order to secure a decorous setting for the display of knightly prowess. They suffered the greatest number of casualties, but contributed little or nothing to the decision of battles. In this respect the early Indian infantry bears a remarkable affinity to European infantry in the feudal age. Early Indian tactics, as described in Vedic and epic literature, were, like feudal tactics in Europe, based principally on ideas of personal glory. Like their feudal counterparts, the early Indian foot-soldiers formed an unstable base of the knightly pyramid, and were not an arm, capable of offence and defence, having its own special organisation, functions in the line of battle and tactical method.

The evidence of the classical authors, the Arthasastra of Kautilya, later works on politics and military science, and early Muhammadan chronicles- all point to the conclusion that the infantry in ancient India never outgrew this subsidiary position in the military organisation of the country. There is a statement in the Santi-Parva (100,24) that "at army, in which the infantry is numerically strong, is always victorious. The figures cited in the preceding chapter show that facts tallied with the theory. From the 4th century B.C. till the close of the 12th century A.D., the combatants on foot continued to maintain their majority in Hindu armies. And yet it seems likely that during all these fifteen or sixteen centuries there was no continued or systematic attempt in any part of the country to use the

infantry as the kernel of armies or develop in it that solidarity and defensive power, for which the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legions became justly famous in the ancient world.

In the Arthasastra, Kautilya attaches much more importance to elephants, and even to horses than to foot-soldiers. In Bk. X. ch. 4, he gives a detailed analysis of the functions of the various arms, but referring to the infantry he simply says that its proper work is to carry weapons to all places and at all times, and drilling (sarva-desakala sastra-vahanam vyayamasca). Elsewhere (Bk. X, ch. 6), he says: "Of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, he should strike the first-mentioned with that which is subsequently mentioned," thus indicating clearly his views on the relative efficiency of the different arms. Somadeva in his Niti-vakyamrta (pp. 82-85) waxes eloquent on the utility of elephants and horses, but says nothing concerning the utility of foot-soldiers. In the Agni Purana (1907) again, no distinction is made between the infantry as such and mere camp-followers. Describing the functions of the infantry, it says, that they consisted in "carrying away the wounded and dead troops from the field of battle, offering resistance to elephants, supplying water and carrying arms and weapons". The Nitiprakasika (VI, 57) provides us with a similar enumeration of the functions of the infantry. "The proper task of the foot-men", it says, "is to protect the granaries, arsenals and treasuries, and to make entrenchments for the army". It is clear, therefore, that no Hindu writer, not even Kautilya who has so often been compared

to Machiavelli, possessed the latter's insight to recognise that the infantry was "the sinew and substance of the army (Sarvam patti-baladhinam tasmat pattibalam balam).

From the quotations cited above, it would seem that there probably existed no clear-marked line of demarcation between the infantry as such and mere camp-followers. V.A. Smith (1914) observes that in the time of emperor Akbar, porters, dak runners or foot-men, gladiators, wrestlers, palki bearers and water-carriers, were all classed as infantry. Bernier says that in estimating the strength of the Moghul imperial infantry under Aurangzeb, servants, cutlers, tradesmen and all those individuals belonging to the bazars or markets, who accompanied the troops, were usually included (V.A. Smith: 1914). This curious resemblance between the Hindu infantry of ancient India and the Moghul infantry of the 16th and 17th centuries shows how a change in a country's political destinies may take place without necessarily involving any change in its institutional life.

From the foregoing remarks it must not be thought that the infantry in ancient India was a mere 'residue'. As archers they seem to have been redoubtable fighters, and won the admiration of the Greeks. It is also probable that being the most numerous part of the army, they sometimes decided the fortunes of battles by the sheer weight of their numbers. Moreover, in certain special forms of warfare, their services must have been found of real importance. Most ancient writers emphasise the kind in every century and in every part of the country.

of ground on which the infantry could be employed to greatest advantage. In the Santiparva (100, 23) Bhisma says that "a region, which is full of inaccessible spots and which is overgrown with large trees and cane bushes, is the ground for the infantry". Kautilya (Bk. X. ch. 4) declares that the best ground for the infantry is one "which contains big stones and boulders, or is thickly planted with trees, green or dry". The Agni Purana (236, 49) applauds uneven grounds as the most suitable for the employment of foot-soldiers. It is clear, therefore, that in contemporary opinion, the infantry were of special value when the theatre of war lay, not in the open plains, but in forest and hilly regions. A striking confirmation of this fact is afforded by the Muruju-l Zahab of Al Mas'udi. "The greatest of the kings of India in our time," he writes, "is the Balhara sovereign of the city of Mankir... His troops and elphants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains" (Elliot: 1772).

In the defence of forts and strongholds, too, foot-soldiers were specially relied upon. The reason is simple. Elephants, chariots and horses could not be used when the enemy was hammering at the gates of a fort. Whatever resistance was offered at such times, was offered by footmen, standing on the walls, in the towers, or behind the parapets, and hurling their weapons and missiles on the besiegers. The classical chronicles provide us with a few instances of this nature, but they must have occured in every century and in every part of the country.

5.5:II: THE CAVALRY

5.5:II-1 Historical Outline : It is difficult to fix the period at which cavalry in the proper sense of the word were first used in India. Horse-riding was known as early as the Vedic age (Rgveda: 1911), but there is no satisfactory record of the use of cavalry in battles of that period (Zimmer: 1879).

In the epics the cavalry is recognised as a separate arm, but it is of no real value and is wholly unorganised. "The mounted soldiers," says Hopkins, "are recognised as a body (kulam) apart from others, of course, but do not act together. They appear as concomitants of the war-cars, dependent groups; but separate horsemen appear everywhere. Their employment was much influenced by that of the elephants. A body of horsemen is routed by an elephant. They were therefore detailed in small numbers to guard the war-cars and keep on the flanks of their own elephants. To the latter, indeed, they are formally assigned, but seem generally to be circling about the chariots.

Hopkins adds that they were generally grouped with the hastisadinah or elephant-riders, as a force antithetical to the main strength of the army, the car-men, and that in the battle scenes they are conspicuous through falling off their horses, quite often from fear alone. "Their most efficient aid was given when they were hurled against the foes after the elephants had become useless, and the throng was too dense and mixed for the employment of war-cars. Then the agile and single horsemen could

do good work on the herd of frightened foot-soldiers, unimpeded by fear of heavier foes.

The classical chronicles show that the Indian cavalry in the age of Alexander were no longer as inefficient and unskilful as in the epic age. They were gradualy out-growing the impotence of infancy, and winning recognition as an arm of real value, Aelian says that the Indians of this epoch held the horses in high esteem because of their great use in arms and warfare (McCrindle: 1896). The tables, given in Chapter II prove that most of the Indian states in the fourth and third century B.C. maintained large cavalry forces.

In the battle of the Hydaspes, the cavalry in the service of king Porus were posted in the two flanks of the Indian army. Alexander despatched against their left wing a contingent of 1,000 mounted archers, brought from the steppes of Central Asia, to throw the enemy in that part of the field into confusion with storms of arrows and charges of their horses. "He marched rapidly forward himself with the companion cavalry against the left wing of the barbarians, making haste to attack their cavalry in a state of disorder while they were still in columns and before they could deploy into line. The Indians meanwhile had collected their horsemen from every quarter, and were riding forward to repulse Alexander's onset, when Koinos, in accordance with his orders, appeared with his cavalry upon the rear. Seeing this the Indians had to make their cavalry face both to front and rear- the largest

and best part to oppose Alexander, and the remainder to wheel round against Koinos and his squadrons. This, therefore, at once threw their ranks into confusion, and disconcerted their plan of operations; and Alexander, seeing that now was his opportunity while their cavalry was in the very act of forming to front and rear, fell upon those opposed to him with such vigour that the Indians, unable to withstand the charge of his cavalry, broke from their ranks, and fled for shelter to the elephants as a friendly wall. Arrian, from whom the above quotation has been extracted, adds that shortly afterwards the Indian cavalry, when they saw their own infantry men engaged in action, once again wheeled round and charged the Macedonian cavalry. But the Macedonian horsemen, being far superior in skill and discipline, again routed them and drove them back upon the elephants.

If we compare the foregoing account with that found in the epics, we shall hardly fail to recognise that the Indian cavalry of the age of Alexander were decidedly an improvement upon their epic fore-runners. It is true that they could not withstand the cleverly-planned attack of Alexander; but that was because of two reasons. First, the Macedonian cavalry were better-trained, better-disciplined and better-equipped; and second, Alexander himself was a cavalry commander of superb genius. As at Granicus Issue and Arbela, so here on the bank of the Hydaspes, he showed all the best qualities of a great cavalry leader. Like Hannibal, he understood the advantage of hurling masses upon the enemy and breaking through them by the mere momentum; he demonstrated the

our knowledge of the Indian cavalry in the Gupta and post-Gupta period is extremely meagre. A few facts, however, are

efficacy of using the horse and the rider as a projectile weapon. "Military critics", writes McCrindle, "cannot point to a single strategical error in the whole series of operations conducted by Alexander himself, or his generals acting under his orders, from the time he encamped on the bank of the Hydaspes till the overthrow and surrender of Poros".

The gradual emergence of the cavalry as an efficient arm is further attested by the nature and variety of functions assigned to them in the Arthasatra. In one place (Bk. X. ch. 5) Kautilya says: "Running against; running round; running beyond, running back, disturbing the enemy's halt; gathering the troops; curving, circling, miscellaneous operations; removal of the rear; pursuit of the line from the front, flanks and rear; protection of the broken army; and falling upon the broken army- these are the forms of waging war with the horses". Elsewhere (Bk. X. ch.4) he defines the principal tasks of the cavalry as consisting in cutting off the provisions and reinforcements of the enemy, screening and protecting the strategic front of the armies, outpost and detached service, occupying advanced positions, delivering a charge, scouting and reconnoitring, gaining the flanks and rear of an enemy, covering an advance and pursuing a retreating foe. In other words, in the opinion of Kautilya, they were expected to intervene in the prologue, in the principal act, and in the denouement.

Our knowledge of the Hindu cavalry in the Gupta and post-Gupta period is extremely meagre. A few facts, however, are

worth noting. It is not improbable that this increase was a direct sequel of the growing importance of this arm in contemporary military estimation. Secondly, it is noteworthy that on certain types of their coins, the Gupta emperors are depicted as full-dressed cavaliers. Whether the Guptas issued these coins merely in slavish imitation of the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian rulers, or were imbued with the idea of making the cavalry the most honourable form of service, is more than we can say. For reasons given in the preceding chapter, it seems reasonable, however, to believe that the early centuries of the Christian era witnessed a general improvement in the standard of cavalry service in India and a better recognition of the genius and utility of this arm. Certain remarks, contained in later works on polity, perhaps prove that this change in military outlook persisted till well-nigh the close of our period. Writing in the tenth century A.D., Somadeva (1890) says: "The cavalry represents the mobility of the army. With a king, having a strong cavalry force, war becomes almost a sport. On him fortune smiles, and even enemies at a distance easily come within his grasp". In the same strain Someśvara (1908) (twelfth century A.D.) observes: "The cavalry is the key to fame; a king in possession of a strong cavalry need entertain no apprehension regarding his territory.

Nevertheless it must be noted that the cavalry never came to occupy the front rank in the army organisation of ancient India. It never in fact came to form the core of a Hindu army.

As in the time of Porus, so in the time of Prthviraj much greater reliance appears to have been placed upon the elephant than upon the horse. And as in the 4th century B.C., so in the 11th and 12th century A.D., the superiority of foreign horsemen once again decided the fate of India. There is ample evidence in the early Muhammadan chronicles to show that both Mahmud of Ghazna and Muhammad Ghori won some of their most brilliant military triumphs in India by the skilful use of a numerous and well-trained cavalry (Elliot: 1772).

One of the reasons why the Hindus never did or could evolve a cavalry system comparable in strength and efficiency to that of the Greeks or Muhammadans was the lack of good horses in India. Ancient writers are signularly unanimous in regarding the horses of the north and west as better than those of India proper. In the Mahabharata, the most famous horses come from the Sindhu country, or Bahlika, or Kamboja. The Sauptika-parva (118, 13) speaks of the people of the latter country as among the finest horsemen. In the Sumangalavilasini (I, 124) Kamboja is referred to as the home of horses- Kamboja assanam ayatanam. The Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sutra (Jaina Sutras. S.B.E., II, 47) tells us that a trained Kambojan horse exceeded other horses in speed, and that no noise could frighten it. Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa (IV.70) makes Raghu exact a tribute of horses from the Kambojan kings. In the Gaudavaho (p. 78, v. 261), Vakpati refers to the tradition that the horse was a product of the Himalayan regions- himа selanta-sambhava. In the Rajatarangini (IV, 185), Kalhana

eulogistically speaks of the stables of the Kambojas. Finally, according to Someśvara, horses from Sindh, Arabia and the Kamboja countries were by far the best.

This paucity of good horses within India proper often compelled powerful monarchs both in the north and in the south to get their supply of horses from foreign countries. Bana tells us that the royal stable of emperor Harsa was filled with horses "from Vanayu, Aratta, Kamboja, Bharadvaja, Sindh and Persia. The Khalimpur copper-plate of Dharmapala speaks of his "unlimited troops of horses presented by many kings of the north. The Monghyr copper-plate of Devapala indicates that this king of Bengal got his supply of horses from the Kamboja country. The Arab merchant, Sulaiman. says that his contemporary king of Jurz (who has been identified with Bhoja of the Gurjara-pratihara dynasty) possessed the finest cavalry in India. "This king maintains numerous forces," he says, "and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry". It is reasonable to believe that he could get together such a strong and efficient cavalry because his kingdom lay in close proximity to the regions mentioned above.

The Deccan states seem to have suffered from this handicap even more than the northern states; and contemporary authorities affirm that they had to secure their supply of horses "from distant lands beyond the seas. Referring to the Malabar coast, Rashiduddin says that there were no horses there, or rather those which were there were weak, and "it was therefore agreed that every year Jamalu-ddin Ibrahim should send to the Dewar 14,000

strong Arab horses obtained from the island of Kis, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fars such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz and Kilahat, etc. Each horse is reckoned 220 dinars of red gold current (Elliot: 1772). Describing the same region, Macro Polo (1903) says that "there is no possibility of breeding horses in this country.

This lack of good horses of indigenous breed must have proved a serious obstacle to the development of a first-rate cavalry system in ancient India. It was indeed a fatal lack.

5.5:II-2: Classification and Training of Horses : Most ancient writers, dealing with the art of war, have emphasised the careful selection of horses for the army. Horses were accordingly classified in a variety of ways. One of these was based on their breed. Thus according to the Arthasatra (Bk. II. ch. 30): "The breed of Kamboja, Sindhu, Aratta and Vanayu countries are the best; those of Bahlika, Papeya, Sauvira and Taitala are of middle quality; and the rest ordinary (avarah)". Another method of classifying horses was by means of their physical proportions. "The face of the best horse", says Kautilya, "measures 32 angulas: its length is five times its face; its shank is 20 angulas; and its height is 4 times its shank. Horses of medium and lower sizes fall short of the above measurement by two and three angulas respectively. The circumference (parinaha) of the best horse measures 100 angulas, and horses of medium and lower sizes fall short of the above measurement by five parts (pancabhagavarman)."

work", adds the Greek ambassador, "require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses(Mccrindle: 1926).

A comparison of the above figures with those given in the Garuda Purana (207, 4-5) and the Sukraniti (Ch. IV. sec. vii, 11. 85-144) will show that the standard of measurement was not rigidly fixed, but differed from age to age.

It may be noted further that horses were considered auspicious and inauspicious according to the colour of their body and the location of twists in the hair (avartas). And this again led to further divisions and subdivisions. The Brhat Samhita (66, 12 ff.) and the Agni Purana (289, 1ff.) give ten good and ten bad avartas. The Yukti-kalpataru (pp. 182 ff.) divides horses into four castes in accordance with their distinguishing characteristics, and gives an exhaustive analysis of their colour and hair-rings. In the Asva-sastra of Hemasuri, a Jain author of the 14th century A.D., horses have been classified into as many as one hundred and fifty-three vafieties. The classification is based on their curls marks, colours and qualities (Hemasuri:1928).

Great care was bestowed on the training of horses for war. Megasthenes says that in the 4th century B.C. there was a class of professional horse-trainers in India, who were trained from boyhood to manage horses. It was their practice to make the horses move at a measured pace and in a straight course. They did not gall the tongue of their horses by the use of spiked muzzles, nor did they torture the roof of their mouth, but broke them in by forcing them to gallop round and round in a ring, especially when they saw them refractory. "Such as undertake this work", adds the Greek ambassador, "require to have a strong hand as well as a thorough knowledge of horses(Mccrindle: 1926).

The Arthasastra of Kautilya (Bk. II. ch. 30) provides us with a detailed account of the various movements employed for the training of horses. The author begins his description with the statement that "the regular training of the horse is its preparation for war". This, according to him, involved the mastery of five principal movements, viz.,

(1) valgana (circular movement),

(2) nicairgata (slow movement with the head and ears kept erect),

(3) langhana (jumping).

(4) dhorana (gallop)

(5) narostra (movement following signals).

Most of these, again, consisted of several varieties. Thus valgana was of the following kinds:

(a) aupavenuka (turning in a circle of a cubit in diameter).

(b) Vardhamanaka (advancing, and yet turning in a circle as above).

(c) yamaka (running the figure-of-eight).

(d) alidha-pluta (running and jumping simultaneously)

(e) irthatta (movement only of the forepoart of the body).

and (f) trvacali (movement of only the hinder portion of the body).

Similarly nicairgata consisted of the following sixteen varieties:

a) prakirnaka (a combination of all kinds of movements).

b) prakirnottara (the same as above, but with one kind of movement kept prominent).

c) nisanna (a movement in which the hinder part of the body is kept steady).

d) parsvanuvrtta (movement sideways).

e) urmimarga (movement up and down like a wave).

f) sarabha-kridita (playing like a sarabha, a kind of deer).

g) sarabha-pluta (leaping like a deer).

h) tritala (movement using only three legs).

i) vahyanuvrtta (moving right and left).

j) pancapani (movement by using two and three legs alternately).

k) simhayata (pacing like a lion).

l) svadhuta (long strides).

m) klista (moving straight without a rider).

n) slaghita (moving with the forepart of the body bent)

o) brinhita (moving with the hinder part of the body bent).

and p) puspabhikirna (zig-zag)motion).

The several forms of langhana were as follows:

(a) kapipluta (jumping like a monkey)

(b) bhekapluta (jumping like a frog).

(c) ekapluta (sudden jump).

(d) ekapadapluta (jumping with one leg).

(e) kokila-samcari (leaping like a cuckoo).

(f) urasya (dashing with the breast almost touching the ground).

and (g) bakasamcari (leaping like a crane).

In the same way, dhorana included the following movements:

(a) kanka (flying like a vulture)

(b) varikanka (dashing like a water-duck)

(c) mayura (running like a peacock)

(d) ardha-mayura (half the speed of a peacock)

(e) nakula (dashing like a mungoose)

(f) ardha-nakula (half the speed of a mungoose)

(g) varahu (running like a hog)

and (h) ardha-varaha (half the speed of a hog).

Besides the above, a few kinds of trot are also enumerated in the Arthasastra. One of these is called marga (trot). "Trotting according to strength (vikrama), trotting with good breathing (bhadrasvasa), and trotting with a good load on the back (bharavahya) are the three forms of marga". Another kind of trot is designated dhara. This consisted of five movements, viz., trotting according to strength (vikrama), trot combined with circular movement (valgita), pacing with gallops (upakantha), medium speed (upajava), and low speed (java).

It is difficult for us, especially after the lapse of so many centuries, to understand the full meaning of all the technical terms mentioned in the Arthasastra. Words and phrases, which once appeared obvious in the context of daily life, have now become obscure. Yet the above list of technical terms, each

signifying a special kind of movement, testifies to the extreme care with which horses were trained in ancient India. We do not know how long this elaborate system of horse-training continued in actual practice. Casual references in literature and inscriptions show that the five movements styled dhara by Kautilya were well-known to the horse-trainers of later epochs. Thus in the Sisupalavadha (V. 60) we read of a horse being actually taken out to practise these movements. The Anamkonda Inscription, (dated saka 1084), referring to Rudradeva's cavalry force, says: "His horses are of the most pleasing shape- of low-sounding neighings- possessed of all the excellent characteristics that are made famous by the writings that treat of horses- adapted in their make for speed and weight- very long-lived,- and trained in the five kinds of paces (pancadharah). In the Bednagar Prasasti of the reign of Kumarapala (1151 A.D.), Bhimadeva's horses are referred to as "supremely skilled in accomplishing the five kinds of trot called dhara (Epigraphic Indica: 1892).

The Agni Purana (288, 60-62) and the Dhanurveda Samhita of Vasistha (p. 66) supply us with a new list of technical terms in connection with horse-training, but it is difficult to make out their full import (Kautilya Arthasastra: 1923).

5.5:III: ELEPHANTS

5.5:III-1: Historical Outline: Elephants are mentioned in the Rgveda probably under the designation of mrga varana (vii, 33,

8; x. 40,4), certainly under that of mrga hastin. They are usually spoken of as wild, terrible beasts, and Roth suggests that the compound name is a proof of the newness of the animal to the Vedic Indians. This may well have been so, but there are good reasons to think that before the period closed, elephants ahad been both tamed and domesticated. The Yajur-veda uses the term hastipa to denote an elephant-trainer. In the Atharva-veda (ix. 3, 17) we read: "Thou hall (or house) standest on the earth with feet like a female elephant". The passage suggests that its author must have been accustomed to look familiarly at the animal close at hand. There is a verse which pointedly says that the elephant "hath now become chief of all pleasant beasts to ride".

There is, however, no reference in any of the Vedas to the use of elephants in war. But once they were tamed and domesticated, it did not take long to realise that their extraordinary strength might be profitably utilised for military purposes. The initial steps in this direction were probably taken in the post-Vedic period. In both the Jatakas and the epics the elephants are represented as taking part in military operations. But they were not yet the most important arm. They became the most important arm about the time of the Macedonian invasion. The classical chronicles make it abundantly clear that in his titanic struggle against Alexander, Porus pinned all his hopes on the elephants in his army. In the battle-array that he drewup on that fateful day,

he posted the elephants along the front like bastions in a wall. He seems to have thought that these monsters would terrify the foreign soldiers, and render the Macedonian cavalry unmanageable. In fact, he counted without his host. Alexander, a shrewder judge of military affairs, instinctively realised the grave danger involved in such extensive employment of elephants in war (McCrindle: 1896). But neither Porus nor any other Indian prince did. Everywhere there was the same demand for elephants, the same implicit faith in their military effectiveness. In the eastern kingdom of Magadha. Mahapadma Nanda had collected a huge contingent of elephants, numbering about four thousand, "all trained and equipped for war (McCrindle: 1926). Shortly afterwards Candragupta Maurya increased the strength of the Magadhan elephant corps to nine thousand. The age of chariots had passed, that of elephants had begun (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

In the succeeding centuries, the importance of elephants went on mounting higher and higher in Indian military estimation. In the Arthasastra (Bk. VII. Ch. 2) Kautilya provides us with an inkling into the military thought of his age when he writes that "it is on elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends". "The victory of kings in battles", he remarks elsewhere, "depends mainly upon elephants; for elephants, being of large bodily frame, are able not only to destroy the arrayed army of the enemy, his fortifications and encampments, but also to undertake works that are dangerous to life. Where Kautilya is merely on of

affirmative, his successors are superlative. For instance, Palakapya, the famous author of Hastyayur-veda, says: "The Sumeru is the ornament of the world, the moon of the night; learning is the ornament of the man, and the elephant of the army". Again, "where there is truth, there is religion; where there is religion, there is prosperity; where there is beauty, there is nobility; and where there are elephants, there is victory". Kamandaka (XVI, 10-12) says that "the kingdoms of kings depend on elephants", and that "one elephant, duly equipped and trained in the methods of war, is capable of slaying six thousand well-caparisoned horses. The Niti-Vakyamrta (pp. 82-83) and the Agni Purana (287, 5-6) join their voice to this general chorus of tribute. A mediaeval author goes so far as to declare that an army without elephants is as despicable as a forest without a lion, a kingdom without a king or as valour unaided by weapons.

There is no ground to think that the theory was divorced from practice. Referring to the king of Ruhmi, the Arab traveller, Sulaiman, says: "When he goes out to battle, he is followed by 50,000 elephants. He takes the field only in winter because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season. Ibn Khurdadba says that "the kings of Hind take great delight in maintaining elephants, and pay largely for them in gold (Elliot: 1772). The elephants continued to fill an important role in the Indian military system long after the conquest of India by the Muhammadans. It was only after the introduction of

fire-arms and the gradual extension of their use that they ceased to be of any value in the fighting line of battle (Irvina, W.: 1903).

It may be pointed out here that it was not in India alone that elephants were used in war. The same practice was in vogue among the Greeks and the Romans, the Turks and the Mongols. Classical authors tell us that after his conflict with Candragupta Maurya, Seleucas Nikator ceded to the Indian emperor the three satrapies of Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Paropanisadai (Kabul) and received in exchange a gift of five hundred war-elephants. A few years later (301 B.C.), when fighting against Antigonus, the Syrian king brought these elephants into the field, and it is to their instrumentality that contemporary opinion ascribed his resounding victory at Ipsos. Many centuries later, Sultan-Mahmud carried off from India a large number of trained elephants, and used them in his wars against the Turks in Transoxiana. As a matter of fact, elephants, though dangerous, were of real value in ancient and mediaeval warfare. Used with caution, and as a subordinate arm, they sometimes turned the scale of victory at the decisive moment. The Hindus erred not in the use of elephants but in the emphasis they put upon that use.

5.5:III-2: Merits and Defects : Most ancient politico-military writers have attempted to formulate the functions which a trained elephant corps was expected to perform in war. According to Kautilya (1923) the most important of these functions were (a) acting

as the vanguard of a marching army (puroyanam), (b) preparing roads, camping grounds, and landing ghats in rivers (akrtamarga-vasa-tirtha-karma), (c) clearing away such impediments as small trees and shrubs (visamasambadha-pravesa), (d) battering down walls, gates and towers of a fortress (Saladvarattalaka-bhanjanam) and (e) breaking up, scattering or trampling down the hostile force. Kamandaka (1912) ands that "breaking into forest forts" (vana-durga-pravesanam) was another important function of war-elephants. In the Agni Purana (242, 37) it is stated that elephants were specially useful in all confused battles.

But elephants were sometimes of more harm than benefit. If wounded, they were liable to get beyond control and escape at the top of their speed. It also happened that once taken by terror, they turned round and trampled their own men under their feet. The earliest known instance of this kind occured in the battle of the Hydaspes. Maddened by the wounds received from the enemy's missiles, the elephants in the Paurava army "attacked friend and foe quite indiscriminately, pushed them, trampled them down, and killed them in all manner of ways", and being at last spent with wounds. "Spread havoc in their own ranks (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896). Another example of this nature recorded is Kalhana's Rajatarangini (VII. 1551-55). King Harsa was fighting for his very life and throne against the Damaras and Khasikas, headed by Uccala near the bridge on the stream called Ksiptika. "Then Janakacandra and others shot arrows at the king's fighting

elephant, which stood in front of the bridge and had thrown off its armour. Hit in the joints by the arrows, the elephant raised a trumpeting roar, and turning back trampled with his feet his own force. Attacked by the elephant which had turned hostile, as fate (had done), the foot and horse of the army were routed".

In other ways, too, elephants sometimes proved to be a source of immense danger. With the growing importance of elephants, kings and generals began to appear in the fighting line mounted on these ponderous beasts. They apparently thought that being thus easily visible, they would be a source of inspiration to all the troops. But there was one grave risk attending the practice, for they were thereby making themselves a target of attack by the enemy. In those days battles were nearly always decided by the fate of the leader; and it was believed that if the king or general were killed, his army would give up the contest and in a very short space of time melt away altogether. An instance of this nature occured when Muhammad-bin-Kasim invaded the kingdom of Dahir. The Chachnama relates how Dahir was observed seated on a lofty elephant by the enemy. "Muhammad Kasim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man in obedience to this direction, shot his naphtha arrow into Dahir's howdah and set it on fire". This produced immediate confusion in the Hindu army had decided the day. A similar incident took place in 1008 A.D., when the confederate Hindu army under Anandapala met the Ghaznavide troops under Sultan Mahmud on the plains of

Chach (lying between Attock and Hazro). Here the Hindu and Muslim armies lay in front of each other in entrenched camps for forty days, each watching for an opportunity to gain advantage of the other. Then the Gekkhars, impatient of further delay, began the action by rushing the entrenched Ghazni camp, and slaying a few thousand Muhammedan soldiers. The two armies thus became grappled in deadly conflict, and for a time it seemed that the Hindus would win the day (Vaidya, C.V.: 1921). But all on a sudden, says Firishta, "the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who seeing themselves deserted by the general, gave way and fled also. Still another instance of this nature occured towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., when the Raja of Benares was attacked by Kutb-ud-din Aibak. The Raja, we are told, prided himself on the number of his troops and war-elephants. He came to the field seated on a lofty howdah; but within a short time received a deadly wound from an arrow, and "fell from his exalted seat to the earth". Thereupon his army lost heart and fled in confusion (Elliot: 1772).

5.5:III:3 Classification and Training : Elephants, like horses, were usually classified either according to their breed or according to their physical characteristics. In the Arthasastra (Bk. XX. ch. 2). Kautilya says that "elephants bred in countries such as Kalinga, Anga, Karasa, and the east are the best; those elephants were first carefully tamed. Megasthenes says that this was usually done by tying their feet one to another, their necks to a pillar firmly fixed in the ground, and leaving them without

of Dasarna and Western countries are of middle quality; and those of Surastra and Pancajana countries are of low quality". It may be mentioned here that just as ancient writers have ascribed, with surprising unanimity, the pre-eminence in horse-breeding to the north-west, they have attributed the pre-eminence in elephant-breeding to the east. For instance, it is noted in the Santiparva (101. 4) as a distinguihsing characteristic of the easterners that they could fight skilfully with elephants (pracya matanga-yuddesu kusalah). In the Raghuvamsa (IV. 40, 83, VI. 27, 54), while describing the campaigns of Raghu, Kalidasa speaks of the mighty elephant force of the Kaliga and Anga kings. Similarly, Vakpati refers to the king of the Vangas as "powerful in the possession of a large number of war-like elephants. Referring to Kamarupa, the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, says that there were "wild elephants which ravaged in herds, and so there was a good supply of elephants for war purposes". Elsewhere, he mentions that the military establishment of the contemporary king of Kamarupa included a contingent of 20,000 war-elephants. This peculiarity of fauna may have been an important factor, as Rhys Davids has suggested, in the gradual rise of Magadha to supreme power (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The training of elephants for war must have involved a more laborious process than the training of horses. Of the methods employed to capture wild elephants, some have stood the test of time and are well known in modern India (McCrindle:1923). Captured elephants were first carefully tamed. Megasthenes says that this was usually done by tying their feet one to another, their necks to a pillar firmly fixed in the ground, and leaving them without

food. According to the Arthasastra, the training of elephants consisted of several clearly marked stages. "The process began when the animal was brought to attach itself to a herd of tamed elephants, and lost its wildness by contact with them; this was called the Yuthagata stage of training. Then the animal was cleverly thrown into a pit, specially dug to subdue its ferocity; this was the apapata stage. The next step in the training (varigata) was to keep the animal confined within a particular area of the forest instead of allowing if to roam at large. The next disciplinary measure was to tie the animal to a post when it was found to the sufficiently gentle for the purpose (stambhagata). The taming was completed when the animal became so gentle that it allowed its driver or trainer to sit on its withers without protest; this was the skandhagata stage (N.N. Law: 1914).

When sufficiently tamed, elephants were divided into two groups, viz., those meant for peaceful traffic and those for warlike services. According to Kautilya (1923) the military training of elephants comprised two successive stages. In the first, they were accustomed to girths (kakayakarma), collars (graiveya karma), and to co-operation with a herd of trained elephants in a joint work (yuthakarma). In the second, they were trained in the following manoeuvres:-

a) upasthana (drill, such as riding, bending, jumping over fences, ropes etc.).

b) samvartana (lying down, sitting and leaping over pits and lines drawn).

c) samyana (moving forward straight or transverse, or making serpentine movements).

d) vadhavadha (trampling down and killing)

e) hastiyudha (fighting with other elephants)

f) nagarayana (assailing forts and cities)

and g) samgramika (other cognate movements relating to war).

Bana informs us that in the 7th century A.D. leathern figures were used to train elephants in military manoeuvers. There is an elaborate description of this method of training in the Manasollasa. It may be further noted that elephant-trainers developed a code of technical terms in various parts of the country Magha has a reference to drivers speaking words of encouragement to the elephants. Somesvara (1908) supplies us with a list of these technical terms as used in Maharastra and Guzerat in the eleventh and twelfth century A.D.

The elaborate training thus given to elephants often produced amazing results. The Greeks in the fourth century B.C., and the Muhammadan invaders in the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. were equally amazed by the astonishing feats of Indian elephants (McCrindle: 1933). It is no wonder, therefore, that the elephant drivers of ancient India acquired a reputation, which spread beyond the borders of the country. It is probable that the war-elephants in the Sassanian army were mostly managed by Indian drivers, it is certain that the lephant trainers in the army of Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Masud were mostly Hindus (Muhammad Nazim: 1931).

5.6: ARMS AND ARMOUR

The history of the development of arms and armour goes back to the remotest antiquity. Among the numerous objects of interest, which have been unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, there have been discovered weapons of war and of the chase. It would seem that the chief weapons used by the people of the Indus valley were axes, spears, daggers, bows and arrows, maces, slings, and possibly- though not probably- catapults. But they do not appear to have known the use of defensive armours such as shields, helmets or greaves. At least, no trace of any of these has been discovered. The materials of which most of the weapons were made were either copper or bronze (John Marshall: 1931).

In the succeeding ages numerous other weapons came into vogue. Some of these held the field for a time, and were superseded by other, more efficient prototypes. Some, again in varying forms, outlasted the shocks of centuries and remained a permanent feature of the Indian military system. On the whole, it would seem that like many other things of life, arms and weapons underwent a gradual process of evolution. For instance, the sword which was not known to the people of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, and, it would seem, rarely used by the Vedic Aryans, became one of the principal weapons of India in the post-Vedic period. The bow, which was a wooden staff bent into a curved shape in the Rgvedic period, was developed into a highly finished composite apparatus in later centuries. Moreover, with the advance of

knowledge in science and metallurgy, powerful projectile machines worked by mechanical power appear to have been discovered and used in both offensive and defensive warfare. Such were the yantras and maha-yantras mentioned in the epics, the Arthasastra and later literature.

Ancient writers have classified arms and weapons under certain heads. The Mahabharata (1919) for instance, speaks of a four-fold classification of arms, but does not indicate the principle on which it is based. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18). Kautilya divides arms as engines of war, weapons with pointed ends like ploughshares, bows, swords, razor-bladed weapons, stones and armours. The Agni Purana (240, 2), again, classifies weapons under five heads, viz., those thrown by machines (yantra-mukta), those thrown by the hand (pani-mukta), those thrown and drawn back (mukta-sandharita) those not thrown (amukta), and natural weapons such as the fist. Omitting the last, which is purely theoretical, the practical division is four-fold, and is probably the same as that referred to in the Mahabharata. The Yukti-kalpataru of Bhoja divides weapons into two classes, viz., deceitful (mayikam) and non-deceitful (nirmayam). The former is illustrated by combustibles (dahanidikam) and the latter by weapons like the sword (khadgadikam). In the Niti-prakasika (II, 11-13), again arms are divided according to their nature into mukta (thrown), amukta (not thrown), muktamukta (thrown or not thrown), and mantra-mukta (thrown by means of spells). These four classes of arms,

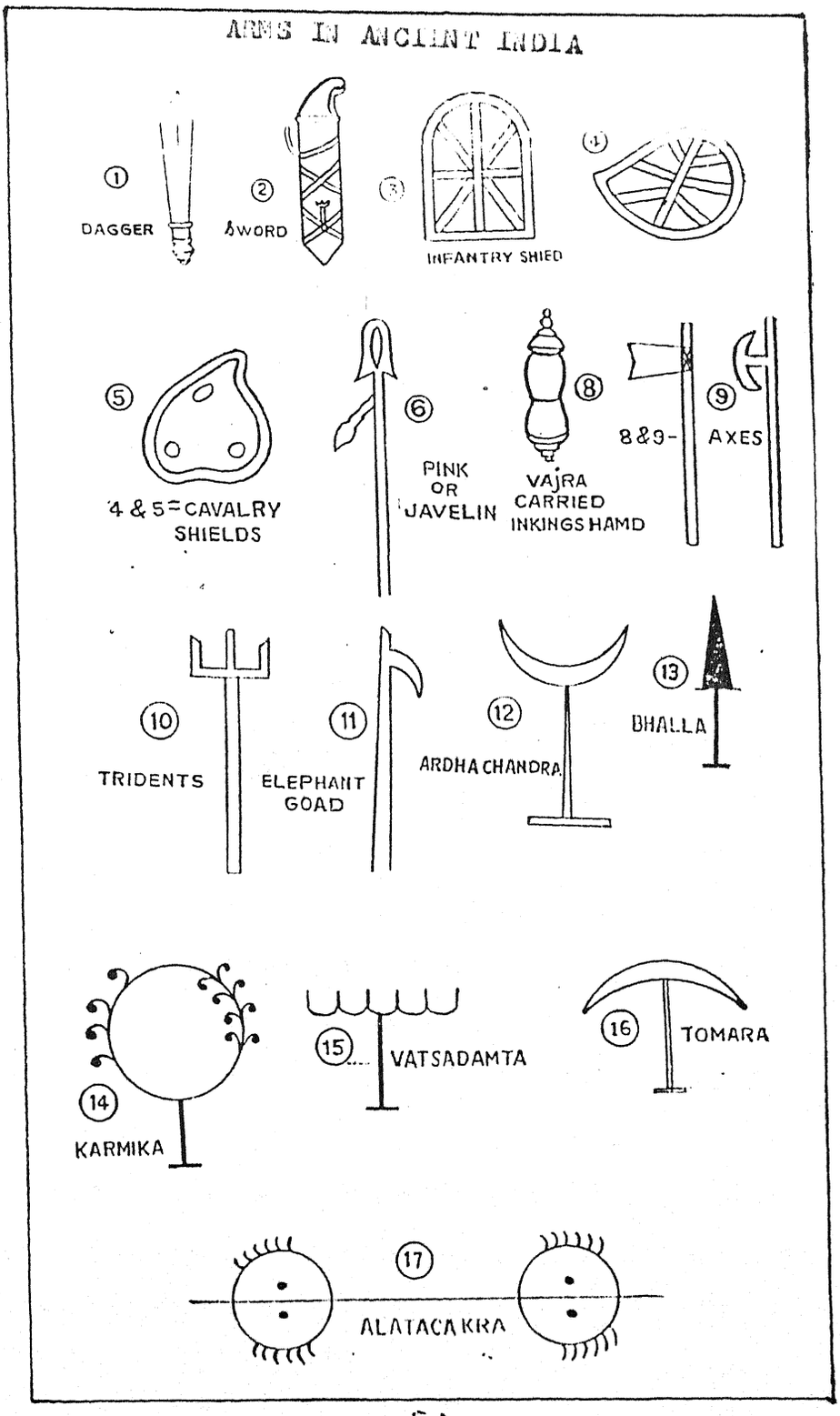
ARMS IN ANCIENT INDIA
① DAGGER
② SWORD
③ INFANTRY SHIED
④
⑤ 4 & 5 = CAVALRY SHIELDS
⑥ PINK OR JAVELIN
⑧ VAJRA CARRIED INKINGS HAMD
8&9- ⑨ AXES
⑩ TRIDENTS
⑪ ELEPHANT GOAD
⑫ ARDHA CHANDRA
⑬ BHALLA
⑭ KARMIKA
⑮ VATSADAMTA
⑯ TOMARA
⑰ ALATACAKRA

FIG: 5.1

the author adds, consequently -

For the purpose of the present study, we cannot accept the above classifications, each of which we realise on reflection is defective in one way or another. We may, therefore, more conveniently divide arms under two heads, viz., offensive and defensive. Offensive arms may, again, be subdivided into (a) missiles and (b) short arms, those used at close quarters, corresponding to the European 'arme blanche'.

5.6:1- OFFENSIVE WEAPONS (Fig.5.1)

5.6:1-1: Bow : The origin of the bow is lost in the mists of obscurity. The discovery of a number of copper and bronze arrow-heads at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa proves that the use of the weapon was known to the people of the Indus valley about the third or fourth millennium B.C. The evidence of comparative philology shows that the Indo-Aryans were acquainted with archery even before they settled down in India. For, the names of the bow, bow-string and arrow are the same in Indo-Iranian and in part appear Indo-European. The Rgveda is replete with references to the bow and arrow, and Macdonell and Keith suggest that practically no other weapon played any substantial part in Vedic warfare (Rgveda Samhita: 1911).

Starting from that dim past the bow had a continuous history in India till the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was only after the introduction of hand fire-arms, and the

gradual extension of their use that it was ousted from its position as one of the leading military weapons of the country. Throughout the ancient period, however, it was the weapon par excellence of the Hindus. It gave its name to military science (dhanur-veda), and proficiency in its use was the measure of a man's reputation as a warrior (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The earliest bow must have been a very simple instrument made of bamboo, cane or wood. During the Vedic period, it was "composed of a stout staff bent into a curved shape (Av. iv, 6,4) and of a bow-string made of a strip of cow-hide (Rv. vi. 67, 11; av. i, 2,3: 1911).

The Jatakas .1895) frequently refer to the ram's-horn bow, though it is likely that bamboo and wooden bows were also in use. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II. ch. 18), Kautilya specifies palmyra (tala), bamboo (capa), wood (daru) and horn (sringa) as the chief materials out of which bows in his age were made. Bows made of palmyra were known as karmuka, those of bamboo as kodanda, those of wood as druna, while horn bows were called dhanu. Bow-strings were made of murva (Sansaviera Roxburghiana) arka (Calotropis Gigantea), sana (hemp), gavedhu (Coix Barbata), venu (bamboo bark) and snayu (sinew).

The Siva-Dhanur-veda mentions two kinds of bows, one made of bamboo (vamsam) and the other of horn (sarngam). It lays down that bows of bamboo should consist of three, five, seven or

nine knots. Those having four, six or eight knots should be discarded. The bow-string, according to the same authority, should be made from silk-thread (patta-sutrah) twisted into a cord. It must be three-stranded, round, smooth and of the size of the little finger throughout. In the absence of silk-thread, Siva recommends the sinews of deer and buffaloes as also cords prepared from the thongs of the fresh skin of goats for strings. He further adds that a good string could be made of the outer rind of bamboo with a silk-thread twisted round it. Fibres of arka (Calotropis Gigantea) might also be turned into a string of considerable strength (Chaktravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The Agni Purana (245, 4 ff.) supplies us with the following account of the materials for the construction of the bow: "Bows are made of three things, viz. metal, horn and wood. The string of a bow is likewise made of three substances, viz., rattan (vamsa), hemp (bhanga) and hide (tvac). The best bow is four cubits long, the medium bow three and a half cubits, and the inferior bow only three cubits. The bow-stave is to be so prepared that it may not have any unevencess from its centre to the extremities. In order that it may be firmly held, a spare piece of wood should be fixed at the centre of the bow-stave. The ends of the bow should be made thin and tapering so as to resemble the eye-brows of a handsome woman. Metal and horn bows should be made either of iron or horn separately or of the two substances conjointly. The horn-bow should be well-shaped and decked with gold. Bows which

are crooked or have cracks or holes in them are not good. The metal-bow is to be made of gold silver, copper and black iron (steel). Horn-bows made out of the horns of buffaloes, sarabha and rohisa are praiseworthy. Bows are also made of sandal wood, rattan, sal wood dhanvana (a king of Hedyserum) and kukubha (Pentaptera arjuna). But the bow made of bamboo, which grows in autumn and which is cut and taken at that time, is the best of all".

It is quite probable that originally wooden and bamboo bows were alone used, and horn bows were later inventions. In search after materials to improve the casting power of the bow, man would naturally be struck by the elastic properties of the horns of animals. The combined testimony of the Jatakas, the epics and the Arthasastra of Kautilya proves that horn-bows had come into use in India before the beginning of the Christian era. Probably the bow of pure horn was the link between the wooden bow and the composite bow of a later age. In making a bow of horn, whether of a pair of horns or of a single large horn, like that of a baffalo, split up to make the two limbs, the bow when made and unstrung would naturally take the shape of the horns when growing of the animal's head. It would at once be seen that the only way to get any spring from the bow would be to bend them the reverse way of the natural curve. Thus we have the reflex bow. This particular characteristic of the horn bows, viz. that they were drawn in the reverse direction to the cruve

which they assume when unstrung, will explain some of the otherwise inexplicable stories recorded in the epics (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The passage quoted above from the Agni Purana shows that the bow was sometimes made of iron; but the recoil of this, or, indeed of any metal is so slow in comparison with that obtained from other materials, that a bow which would give the requisite swiftness of flight would be beyond the power of the strongest man to draw. Metal bows are, therefore, nowhere extolled and they do not seem to have ever come into general use in ancient India.

There are two passages in the Agni Purana which suggest the existence of composite bows in the later centuries of our period. One of these runs to the effect that bows might be made of horn and iron conjointly. In the other we are told that the middle part of a bow should be joined with a spare piece of wood. Now, the main constituents of the composite bow are three-fold-viz. horn, being a compressible substance for the belly; wood or metal to give stiffness to the centre; and sinew for the back, to give elasticity and 'cast'. The reticence of the Agni Purana concerning this additional backing of sinews no doubt weakens, but by no means precludes, our inference. The double-curve bows portrayed in some Sanchi reliefs and on Gupta coins appear, in all probability, to have been of the composite form. The curve of these bows when fully drawn (illustrated, for instance, in the Lion-slayer and the Tiger-slayer types of Gupta coins) seems to

be only practicable with those which are made of materials far more elastic and less liable to fracture than any wood.

It may be naturally asked as to why even after the development of horn and composite bows, the Agni Purana so highly extols bows made of bamboo. The answer to this question is, no doubt, partially found in the elastic properties of bamboo. But the more important reason appears to have been that a highly finished horn or composite bow would always be an expensive weapon, whereas bamboo bows, though less effective, would be more easily come by.

Ancient writers throw some light on the length and size of bows. Hopkins points out that in the Mahabharata the bow is "several times spoken of as talamatra or palm-long, which when compared with the numerical qualification employed in sadaratni, may probably be interpreted as six cubits in length. Elsewhere we have recorded a statement of Arrian that the bow carried by the infantry in the fourth century B.C. was of the same length as the bow-man. Some of the bows represented at Sanchi appear to have been of this size, but others were shorter (Cunningham Sir Al.: 1891). The Siva Dhanurveda contains the following rules regarding length and size of a bow: "A good bow is that which is a little less strong than its bearer. For that which is precious is not the bow, but the bow-man. If he is troubled by the bow, he cannot shoot with ease (lit. does not see his target). Hence

the size of a good bow should be in proportion to the strength of its bearer. The bow which measures five and a half cubits is recognised to be the best. Of this length was the heavenly bow which Sankara held in yore. Twenty-four angulas make one cubit (hasta), and four cubits make one bow (dhanu). If the bow used by man be of this length, it should be considered auspicious.... According to some authorities, however, the bow should measure nine vitastis ($4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits). A little further on the author says: "The weapon par excellence of Visnu is his horn-bow. It was made by Visvakarman and measures seven vitastis ($3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits). The horn-bow used by man for long many years is six and a half vitastis ($3\frac{1}{4}$ cubits) in length (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

From the preceding quotations it is abundantly clear that the length of a Hindu bow usually varied from $3\frac{1}{4}$ cubits to $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. It appears further that, generally speaking, horn bows were shorter than wooden or bamboo bows. Both the Siva-Dhanurveda and the Agni Purana recommend four cubits as the most appropriate length of bows. Thus, by a process of expansion in meaning, the word 'dhanus' came to signify a measurement of four cubits (hastas) (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

5.6:1-2: Arrow and Quiver : The shaft of an arrow was usually made of sara reed (saccharum sara), sometimes also of wood and bamboo. A butt (punkha) was often added to the shaft for the purpose of making a securer notch. An arrow was usually feathered for the purpose of stabilising its flight. The Siva-Dhanurveda

recommends the feathers of the following birds for arrows: heron (kanka), goose (hamsa), brown hawk (sasada), osprey (matsyada-kraunca), peacock, vulture and wild cock (kukkuta). The Mahabharata mentions all these and the feathers of flamingos besides. The number of feathers preferred appears to have been usually four and they were fastened by means of threads and sinews (snayu-tantubhih). The feathers were generally trimmed six inches long, but those stuck upin arrows meant to be shot from a horn bow measured ten angulis (Chakravarti, P.C. 1987).

The head of an arrow was usually tipped with horn, bone, wood or metal. Kautilya (Bk. II, ch. 18) mentions arrow-heads made of metal, bone or wood so "as to cut, rend or pierce". The Dronaparva (188, 11 ff.) gives a list of forbidden weapons and mentions, inter alia, arrow-heads made of monkey-bone, cow-bone and elephant-bone. The Siva-Dhanurveda says: "There are numerous kinds of arrow-heads, assuming different shapes in different regions, such as aramukha (head hshaped like an awl) ksurapra (head having a razor-like barb), gopuccha (head resembling a cow's tail), ardha-candra (erescent-shaped head), sucimukha (needle-shaped head), bhalla (broad-headed(?)), vatsa-danta (head shaped like a calf's tooth), dvibhalla(?), karnika (ear-shaped head), and kaka-tunda (head shaped like a crow's beak) (McCrindle Al.: 1923).

Occasionally, it would seem, arrows had ignited matter wrapped round the point. In the Arthasastra (Bk. XIII, ch. 4),

Kautilya gives three different recipes for the preparation of fire-arrows. In a well-known passage (VII, 90), Manu condemns the use of fiery arrows in civilised warfare, indirectly proving thereby that these were known. The later Manasollasa (1908) on the other hand, recommends the use of arrows carrying burning matter, especially against elephants. The Rajatarangini (VII, 982-3) records an actual instance of the use of "burning arrows smeared over with vegetable oil, struck by which the enemies caught fire".

Arrows built entirely of iron were known as naraca. We find mention of these in the Jatakas (1895) the Mahabharata (1909) the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), the Agni Purana (245, 12) and a multitude of other works. The Siva-Dhanurveda says that the naracas were built entirely of iron, that five big feathers were attached to them, and that only the strongest archers could shoot with them. There are reasons to think that these arrows were specially employed in fighting against elephants.

Sometimes the shaft of an arrow bore the name of the archer inscribed upon it. The practice is referred to in the Drona-parva (169, 36), the Raghuvamsa (III, 35; VII, 38), the Patala-khanda (29, 88) and the Rajatarangini (VIII, 1678).

The size and length of arrows seem to have varied considerably. In the Satapatha Brahmana (VI, 5, 2,10), the length of an arrow is stated to be five spans, about three feet. In the Mahabharata, the normal length is said to be equal to that of

an axle of the war-car. According to Strabo, Indian arrows in the Mauryan period were nearly three cubits long (McCrindle, Al.: 1923). Cunningham maintains that the arrows represented in the Sanchi reliefs appear to be from three to five feet in length (Cunningham: 1891). The Siva-Dhanurveda describes the length of an arrow as two cubits or two cubits subtracted by a musti (fist) and its girth as equal to that of the little finger. According to the Agni Purana (249, 36), again, an arrow of the best class should measure twelve mustis in length, while the Nitiprakasika (I, 17; IV, 28-9) maintains that it should be three cubits long and an anjali (the hollow of the two palms) in circumference. It may be inferred, therefore, that arrows usually varied from two to three cubits in length. Shorter arrows were probably meant for close and longer ones for distant combat (Mahabharata: 1908; Dan. p. 53, 122).

Direct references to the range of arrow shots are seldom available. The Siva-Dhanurveda, however, throws some light on the subject. While discussing the question of the distance at which the target for practice is to be located, P.C. Chakravarti says that "the target placed at a distance of 60 dhanus (240 cubits) is the best, that placed at a distance of 40 dhanus (160 cubits) is of medium quality, while one located only 20 dhanus (80 cubits) apart from the bowman is inferior. It may be inferred from this that the distance which an arrow could traverse with force and efficacy was about 120 yards. Similarly, from

another passage dealing with naraca-shooting, it may be inferred that the range of the flight of an iron arrow was about 90 yards.

The archer usually carried his arrows in one or two quivers slung over his shoulder. Hopkins says that the quiver was fastened on the right of the back, and that it held from ten to twenty arrows. The Sanchi reliefs seem to confirm this view (Cunningham: 1891). The quiver was sometimes decorated with the figures of animals and birds (Viratparva: 1908; 43, 15).

5.6:1:3 YANTRAS : Yantra is a generic term, often loosely used to denote "a contrivance of almost any kind". In the Mahabharata, as Hopkins points out, it is used to denote a restrainer or protector, and serve as an armour or holder of a fastening, as the rope of the holder of a banner. It is part of the trappings of a war-car, the bands of the chariot: it is used to sail a boat with, and is even a drum-stick. In the Arthasastra it is found among the war accoutrements of elephants (BkII, ch. 32) and also among the surgical instruments used by physicians in the discharge of their professional duty (Bk. X, ch. 3).

But the yantras were also employed as military implements. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), Kautilya speaks of two varieties of yantras, viz. sthira (immovable) and cala (movable), but both implements of war. In the epics and the Puranas, these along with sataghnis are frequently mentioned as posted on the walls and gates of forts and fortified towns. In

the Sabhaparva (5,36), for instance, a sage asks a king: "Are your forts always filled with treas ure, food, weapons, water, yantras, mechanics and archers?" In the Santi-parva (99, 45), Bhisma enjoins that heavy yantras (gurunyeva yantram) should be placed on the gates of fortresses (dvaresu). Moreover, the usual descriptions of towns in the epics inevitably leave the impression on the reader's mind that like the walls and moats, the yantras formed a part and parcel of the Hindu conception of fortification. In the Agni Purana (241, 28), It is stated that "that fort is said to be in distress in which the yantras, walls and moats are in a state of disrepair, and where the garrison is dwindling in number".

The question, therefore, naturally arises as to what were these yantras so often stated in the epic and post-epic literature as forming an essential part of a city's defence. We are inclined to believe that these were of the nature of catapults and ballistae used by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks and Romans in their warfare. Like them, these engines were enormous in size, and were used for propelling large arrows and stones. As already stated, Kautilya speaks of two varieties of yantras. Of these the "immovable" variety consisted of the following engines of war:

1. Sarvatobhadra	4. Visvasaghati	7. Parjanyaka.
2. Jamadagnya	5. Samghati	8. Ardhabahu
3. Bahumukha	6. Yanaka	9. Urdhva-bahu.

Kautilya himself does not any what exactly was the nature and purpose of these engines, save and beyond that they were enormous and heavy, and hence immovable. But the gap left by him has been filled in by his commentator. Thus sarvatobhadra is explained as "a cart with wheels and capable of rapid revolution". And then follows the remark: "This, when rotated, throws stones in all directions". Jamadagnya, he says, was an engine to shoot large arrows (mahasara-yantra): bahumukha "a tower situated on the top of a fort and provided with a leather cover", altogether so devised as to enable a number of archers to direct their arrows in all directions; and visvasaghati "a cross-beam at the entrance of a city, and so placed as to be caused to fall down and kill enemies when approaching". The others have been similarly explained. Thus sanghati was a long pole to set fire to attalaka and other parts of a fort; yanaka a pole or rod mounted on a wheel so as to be thrown against enemies; parjanyaka a water-machine to put out fire, and so on and so forth.

It is obvious from the above that the ynatras were of various kinds and were used for different purposes. But if the interpretation of the commentator can be relied upon, the first two in the above list were very similar to the ballista and the catapult as used in ancient and medieval Europe. And it is necessary to emphasise that we have no right to disbelieve the commentator, partly because his interpretation is not contradicted by any rival set of evidence, but more so because it is in general

(xii, 165) and Sānti-parva (103, 35), the yantras have been assigned one independent division.

agreement with what we learn from other contemporary or semi-contemporary sources. In the same chapter in which Kautilya speaks of these engines, he also speaks of yantra-gospana-musti-pasana, i.e. stones thrown by yantras, gospana (a kind of rod) and hand. If there were stones specifically meant to be thrown by yantras, there must have been engines also to propel stones on the enemy. This conclusion is upheld by epic evidence. In the Sundara-kanda (62, 24), there is a reference to yantrotksipta ivopalah, i.e. like stones thrown by machines. In the Lanka-kanda (3,12ff.) the poet, while describing the defences of Lanka. says: "There are big and strong yantras to throw stones and arrows, and these can repel a hostile army when it approaches the city". A few lines below we read: "At the gates of the city there are four broad bridges, provided with yantras. These prevent enemies from making an assault on the city and throw them into the surrounding ditches". Quotations like these may be multiplied, but it is abundantly clear that the yantras (not all, of course) were large and heavy engines, generally used for discharging heavy bolts, stones and arrows. We have no knowledge as to what supplied their motive power, or how they were constructed and worked. But it is on record that like their European counterparts, they produced terrific noise when in action. They may, therefore, be looked upon as the artillery of the Hindu army, and as such they seem to have been regarded in ancient times. We have noted elsewhere that in the six-fold division of the Hindu army as contemplated in Manu (vii, 185) and Santi-parva (103, 38), the yantras have been assigned one independent division.

5.6:1-4: The Sword : The sword appears to have come into use comperatively later than the bow. No sword or sword-blade has been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (Marshall, John: 1931). And although it was known to the Vedic Aryans, it appears to have been seldom used in the battles of the period. But as centuries elapsed, it came more and more into prominence. In the Santi-parva (166, 3ff., 82 ff.). Bhrsma, being asked as to which weapon in his opinion is the best for all kinds of fighting, replies that the sword is the foremost among arms (agryah praharananam), but the bow is first (adyam). There are reasons to believe that in the later centuries of our period the sword came to rival the bow as a weapon of offence.

Early Arabic literature provides us with a curious illustration of the esteem with which Indian swords were looked upon in western Asia. A renowned Amb poet, Kaab-bin-Zuhair, composed a poem in praise of the Prophet, entitled Quasidah-i Burda, now known as Banat Suaad. One couplet of the poem was a follows: "Verily the Prophet is a light from which illumination is sought by all and a sharp sabre (sarimun) among the drawn swords of God". The Prophet, however, suggested an improvement, saying that sarimun should be replaced by Al-muhannad (the Indian sword) (Muslim Hak Magazine: 1929). Another early Arabic poet. Hellal, describing the flight of the Hemyarites, says: "But they fled under its (i.e. the cloud's) small hail (of arrows) quickly, whilst hard Indian swords were penetrating them". And again: "He died and we inherited him; one old wide

(cuirass) and a bright Indian (sword) with a long shoulder-belt (Sarkar, B.K.: 1918).

Certain regions of India appear to have enjoyed special reputation for excellent sword fabrication. In the Virata-Parva (42, 14), there is an eulogistic reference to swords manufactured in the country of the Nisadhas (naisadhya). In the Sabha-parva (51, 28) again, the Aparanta country is declared to be one of the best centres for the manufacture of swords and other steel weapons. The early Muslim chronicler, Ibn Haukal, says that in his days the territory known as Debal was "famous for the manufacture of swords (Elliot:1772). The Agni Purana (245, 21 ff.) provides us with the following account of the chief centres of sword manufacture: "Swords manufactured in Khat or Khattara country are noted for their elegant appearance, those produced in Usika are well-known for their cutting capacity, those in Surparaka for their strength, those in Anga for their sharpness, while swords manufactured in Vanga are characterised both by keenness and their power of standing blows.

Swords appears to have varied greatly in form and size. Arrian says that in the fourth century B.C. short and broad swords were generally in use. The swords represented at Sanchi generally correspond with this description (Maisey, F.C.: 1892). On the other hand, Kautilya (Bk. II, ch. 18) mentions swords of three distinct varieties, viz., nistrimsa (provided with a crooked end), asi-yasti (shaped like a staff), and mandalagre (provided

with a circular head). It is probable that the first of these resembled the modern kukri, incurved with the cutting edge on the inner side; while the second was certainly the typical Indian long sword, with straight and pointed blade (modern kirich). The exact shape of the mandalagra is more difficult to determine, but it might have been the same as the modern leaf-shaped 'pattisa'. It is not worthy that all these three types of sword are represented in the frescoes and sculptures at Ajanta, "while kirich and pattisa blades have been found in the Tinnevelly urn-burials".

Ancient treatises on sword contain detailed rules regarding the construction and measurements of the weapon. Thus both the Brhat Samhita (ch. IV) and the Agni Purana (245, 23) maintain that a good sword must not be longer than fifty finger breadths nor shorter than twenty-five. In the Yukti-kalpataru (p. 174, vv, 59-60) the characteristics of a good and bad sword are thus described: "A good sword is one which is long, light, sharp, tough and flexible. The chief characteristics of a bad sword are shortness, heaviness, sluggishness, thinness, penetrability and inflexibility".

The component parts of the sword were, of course, the blade and the hilt. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18) the materials for the construction of the hilt are specified as the horn of rhinoceros and baffalo, the tusk of elephants, wood and the root of bamboo. The epics refer to hilts made of gold or

ivory, and set with jewels. Bana describes Harsa's sword-hilt as "rough with the pearls which thickly studded it. The Rajatarangini (VII, 1517) mentions "heaps of gold and silver sword-hilts". It is probable that swords and sword-hilts made for the rank and file were all plain and coarse; while those meant to be used by leaders and higher classes were embellished with gold and silver. The usual type of hilt represented at Ajanta is provided with an angular V-shaped guard and disc-like pommel, the blade usually being strengthened by long processes running up it either in the middle or along the reverse (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

Sword sheaths (kosa) were usually made of leather. One passage in the Virata-parva (42, 12ff.) shows that the leather used was that of the cow (gavya-kose), tiger (vaiyaghra-kosa) and goat (pancanakha-kose). Another passage in the Santi-parva (98, 26) describes this leather as dark (nuacarma). But besides leather, shealths were also occasionally made of wood (Charkravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The sword was susually worn on the left side. At Bharhut and Sanchi it is shown as suspended from the left shoulder by means of a belt (Maisey, P.C.: 1892). But this was not the only mode of carrying a sword. On some of the Gupta coins, the king's sword is shown as hanging from a waist belt (Allan John: 1914). We find a reference to the same practice in the Agni Purana (251, 7-8), where the author save that "the

sword is to be attached to the waist and slung on the left side".

The sword was used both for cutting and thrusting purposes. Occasionally it was also used as a missile in the heat of battle. Swordsmanship was raised to the level of a fine art and proficiency in the art involved an acquaintance with certain special manoeuvers. The term for these manoeuvres in the Mahabharata is mandalani, and their number is given as twenty-one. The Agni Purana (251, 4) and the Niti-prakasika (ch. III) swell them to thirty-two.

5.6:1-5: Spears and Javelins : Developed from a sharp-headed stake, the spear may be reckoned, with the club, as among the most ancient of weapons. Spear-heads have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, but these are unaccountably primitive in form, thin and broad in the blade without any strengthening mid-rib, and with a tang instead of a socket (Marshall, John: 1931).

The usual term for the spear in the epic and post-epic literature is sakti. In the Mahabharata, it is said to be of different kinds, but all sharp (saktisca vividhastiksnah). It is described as a terrible weapon, made of iron (ayasi), sometimes adorned with gold and beryl, sometimes with bells. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18). it is defined as a weapon provided with edges like a plough share. The commentator to

body and a metal head.

Kautilya says that it was a metallic weapon, four cubits long, shaped like the lead of a karavira, and provided with a handle like the cow's teat. Magha (XIX, 59) describes it as made of iron (lohaja) and provided with a sharp blade at the end (abhyagra-phala-salini) (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

There were some other weapons which seem to have belonged to the generic class of spears and javelins, One such was the kunta. Kautilya defines it, like the sakti, as a weapon with edges like a ploughshare. The commentator says that the best kunta measured seven cubits in length, the medium six, and the shortest five. In the Niti-Prakasika (V. 22 ff.) it is defined as a lance, six cubits long, proyided with an iron body and six edges.

The tomara was, in all probability, a javelin. In the Adiparva (19. 12) it is described as possessed of a very sharp point (sutiksnaara). In the Karnaparva (27, 14) it is referred to as iron-mouthed (ayasmaya) and gilded (hema-danda), prercing straight through the arms of a combatant. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18) it is defined, like the sakti and the kunta, as a weapon with edges like a ploughshare. According to the commentator, it was a rod with an arrow-like edge, the best measuring five cubits in length, the medium four and a half, and the shortest four. Nilakantha (Udyogaparva: 154, 3 ff.) save that tomaras were darts to be thrown by the hand. The Niti-prakasika (IV, 38 ff.) describes it as a weapon with a wooden body and a metal head. The commentator on the Arthasastra defines the karpana as a dart, thrown by the hand like the tomara. Its edges weighed 7, 8 or 9 karsas "It can go, he adds,

The prasa (or Prasa) appears to have been another weapon belonging to this class. The Mahabharata contains frequent references to this weapon, but nowhere is its exact nature made sufficiently clear. The only information which we can gather from epic evidence is that it was sharp and broad. The Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), however, leaves no doubt in one's mind that it was a kind of spear or javelin. The later Niti-Prakasika (V,25) also defines it as a spear, seven cubits long, its handle made of bamboo (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The bhindipala (bhindipala or bhindivala) may also have belonged to the generic class of spears. Though it is often mentioned in the Mahabharata (e.g. Udyogaparva 19, 3; 154,6; Bhismaparva, 96, 58, 106, 23; Dronaparva, 24, 59, etc.), its nature is left undefined. In most passages, however, it is described as 'flung', and in one (Bhismaparva, 106, 23) as 'sharp and frog-mouthed' (nisitaisca silimukhain). In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), Kautilya mentions it along with sakti, prasa, tomara, etc. and defines it, like the latter, as a weapon with edges like a ploughshare. There is no doubt but that Kautilya regarded it as a kind of javelin or lance. This conclusion is also borne out by later evidence. The Matsya Purana (160, 10), for instance, describes it as 'made of iron' (ayomaga) and 'flung' (ciksepa). The Vaijayanti (p. 117, 1.331) defines it as a long dart with a large head.

We may also include in the same class such weapons as the kamuya and karpana. The commentator on the Arthasastra defines the karpana as a dart, thrown by the hand like the tomara. Its edges weighed 7,8 or 9 karsas "It can go, he adds,

"as far as a hundred bows' length when thrown by a skilful person". The same authority describes a kanaya as a "metallic rod both ends of which are triangular. This is held in the middle and is 20, 22 or 24 inches long".

There are numerous illustrations of spears and javelins in ancient reliefs and coins. One of the earliest specimens may be seen in Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, Pl. IV, fig. 8. Spears and javelins depicted in Sanchi reliefs have been admirably illustrated in Maisey's Pl. XXXV, fig. 29-35. Spears, in some instances barbed, are also represented on some Yaudheya coins, ranging from about the second to about the fourth century A.D. (Smith, V.A.: 1921) and the Bull and Horseman type of coins of the kings of Ohind (Smith, V.A.: 1921). The weapon is also illustrated in some of the frescoes at Ajanta, where it is depicted as short, with triangular blades and ferules.

5.6:1-6: <u>The Mace</u> : The club or mace is one of the most primitive weapons of India. It was known to the people of the Indus valley (Marshal, John: 1931) and has continued in use ever since. The epic description makes it more important than the sword. According to the historians of Alexander, it was the chief weapon of the Sibi tribe in the fourth century B.C. (McCrindle, J.W.:1896). Plutarch says that in the capital of the Malloi Alexander "received a blow on his neck from a club, which forced him to lean for support against the wall with his face towards the enemy (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896). The weapon is also referred to

Its construction, however, must have differed from age to age. During our period maces of both wood and iron appear to have been in use. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), Kautilya mentions musala, yasti and gada as three varieties of mace. The commentator says that musala and yasti were "pointed rods made of khadira" (Mimosa Catechu), whereas the gada was "a long and heavy rod". In the Mahabharata, however, the gada is always described as made of iron- ayomayi or ayasi. Its general form, says Hopkins, "seems to have been that of a tapering post, grded with iron spikes, and hence heavy and sharp, sometimes plated with gold, or, according to the extravagance of the poet's fercy, bejewelled". In the Bhismaparava (51, 28), it is referred to as four cubits long and hexagonal; elsewhere it is octagonal (Udyogaparva, 51, 8) and bound in hempen strings, mixed with wires of gold (Drmaparva, 15, 13).

We get similar accounts of the mace in later works. In the Niti-prakasika (V, 29-30), for instance, it is described as made of iron, four cubits long, with a hundred spikes at its broad head, and covered on the side with spikes. Sukra (Ch. IV, sec. vii, 1.424) refers to it as octagonal (astasra) in shape, breast-high (hrdayasammita), and provided with a strong handle. The Ausanasa Dhanur-veda (pp. 39-40) says that the best mace should measure fifty angulas in length the next best forty, and the worst thirty. It may be of three shapes, viz., sthulagra (pear-shaped), caturasra (quadrilateral) and talemulakrti (shaped like the root of palmyra).

have been repeated almost verbatim in the Niti-prakasika of

The mace is much less represented in ancient sculptures than the bow or the sword. There is, however, a two-handed club in one of the reliefs at Sanchi (Maisey, Pl. xxxv, fig. 35). There is another representation of the same weapon in the famous Kaniska statue, now deposited in the Mathura Museum. It is a tapering post, being broader at the base than towards the hilt, and is strengthened with five bands, probably of metal. *The portion between the first two bands nearest the handle is round the middle portion between the second and the fourth band is sixteen-sided, only half projecting from the garment. The remaining portion is eight-sided, only three sides being actually shown in front and two partly at the sides. The fifth and lowest band is decorated with a makara head, which like the bands themselves was probably also of metal.

Like the bow and the sword, the mace had its peculiar manoeuvres or circles (handala or marga). In the Adiparva (68, 12), the club-fight is said to consist of four methods as praksepa (hurling at the foe from a distance), viksepa (engaging in close fight at the point of the club), parilesepa (revolving it about in the midst of foes) and abhiksepa (smiting the foe in front). But this list does not exhaust the armoury of technical manoeuvres. In the Salyaparva (57, 16ff.), in the course of a description of a club-duel between two knights, we are told that the manoeuvres are in fact multifarious (margan bahu-vidhan); and then we have an enumeration of twenty technical names. These have been repeated almost verbatim in the Niti-prakasika of

Vaisampayana (V, 31-34). In the Agni Purana (252, 11-12), clubmanship (gada-karma) is said to involve twelve manoeuvres, which are partly identical and partly different from the list in the afore-said works.

5.6:1-7: Battle-Axe, Hatchet etc. : The axe is mentioned in the Rgveda, but seldom as an instrument of war (Das, P.C.:1925). In the Mahabharata it is mentioned under several names, such as parasu, paraswadha, kulisa and kuthara, and is wielded as a weapon chiefly by the nobility. Kautilya (Bk. II, ch. 18) mentions parasu and kuthara as two kinds of axes. The commentator explains the latter as "a kind of axe well-known", and the former as a scimitar, 24 inches long and edged like a crescent. The Niti-prakasika (V. 9-10) defines the parasu as follows: "It is a thim stick with a broad mouth. Its face is in front, curved like a half moon; the body is dirty-coloured, but the face is shining. At the foot end is the handle, and it has a head. Its height is the length of an arm. Its qualities are felling and splitting". The Agni Purana (252, 13) ascribes six functions to the battle-axe, but it is difficult to make out their exact meaning.

The battle-axe is also illustrated in ancient sculptures and coins. One early illustration may be seen in Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India. Pl. IV, fig. 4-5. Another taken from Sanchi is shown in Maisey's Pl. XXXV, fig. 37. One type of Samudragupta's coins (Allan, Pl. IV, fig. 8-10) contains a clear representation of the axe; but the weapon does not appear to be

of the ordinary type, the mettallic curvature being in the middle, not at the end of the handle. Sir John Marshall reports that in course of archeological explorations at Bhita, near Allahabad, he discovered two hatchet-heads. The first belongs to the Kushan period, and is 7" long and 3½" broad. The second belongs to the Gupta period, and is 3½" long and $1\frac{7}{8}$ broad at the edge (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

5.6:1-8: Discus or Quoit : The discus (cakra) is mentioned in many ancient works and incriptions. But it does not appear to have ever become a national favourite. Kautilya (Bk. II, ch. 18) defines it as a movable machine (cala-yantra). The Mahabharata (Adiparva, 33, 2ff.) describes it as a revolving (paribhramantam) weapon, made of iron or steel (ayasmayam) and sharp-edged (tiksna-dharam) Magha (Sisupalavadha, XVIII, 45) speaks of it as a weapon which is hurled from a distance, and cuts off some limb of the enemy. In the Matsya Purana (150, 195), again, it is described as a wheel with eight spokes and besmeared with oil. The Niti-prakasika (IV, 47) says that it had the form of a circular disc (kundalakaram), with a triangular hole in its midst.

5.6:1-9 : Noose and Lasso : The pasa was a sort of lariat or lasso. It is mentioned in the Rgveda (ix. 83, 4; x, 73, 11) as one of the weapons of Varuna and Soma. One passage in the Maha-bharata (Salyaparva, 45, 108) describes it as cast from the raised hand (pasodyata-kara); in another (Karnaparva, 53, 23) it is employed to tie the foot of the foe (hence called pada-vandha).

The Agni Purana (251, 2 ff.) describes it as follows: "A pasa should measure ten cubits in length, its end terminating in a loop, and its face should be retained in the hand. It should be constructed of the strings made of hemp, or of flax, or of munja grass, or of bhanga, or of sinews of animals, or of leather, or of other things of which a strong thread may be made. It may also be made of thirty pieces of thread twisted together. The learners should make a running knot in the pasa; and having held one end of it with the left hand, and twisted it round on the right, they should turn it over their heads, and afterwards throw it on the throat of a human figure covered with skin. After this they should try to throw the string on the neck of a horse at full gallop, or of animals jumping about, or such as are moving fast".

5.6:1-10: Sataghni : The word literally means a "hundred-killer". Halhed in his Code of Gentoo Laws interpreted it as a cannon; while Wilson and Oppert, relying on medieval commentators, construed it as a rocket. After a critical examination of all epic references to the weapon, Hopkins showed that it was neither the one nor the other (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1967).

What, then, was the real nature of this weapon? The name itself ought not to mislead us, for a name is not always an unerring index to the nature of a weapon. Ancient writers seem to refer to two varieties of sataghnis- the first forming part of a city's defence, and the second used as a sort of projectile

along with spears, javelins, etc. The former is often seen planted on the walls of fortresses or fortified towns. Thus in the Adiparva (207, 34), it is meutioned as a part of the defensive equipment of Indraprastha; in the Vanaparva (15,7) as that of Dvaraka; in the Ramayana (Ayodhyakanda, 5 11; Sundarakanda, 2,21; Lankakanda, 3, 23) as that of Ayodhya and Lanka. The Santi-parva (69, 45) emjoins that the king should place destructive engines (yantras) in all the gates of the city. "He should plant on the rampart of his forts sataghanis and other weapons".

It is clear, therefore, that the sataghni, like the yantra, formed an essential element in a city's defence. But what was it like? Mr. C.N. Vaidya (1926) says that it "must have been some machine in the nature of a catapult. The catapult, it may be noted, was a warlike instrument of the cross-bow type. It was a propelling machine and was used with arrows "for what is now called direct fire". There is not a scrap of evidence to show that the sataghni was a propelling instrument, or that it was ever used with arrows. On the contrary, one passage in the Ramayana (Lankakanda 3,13), referring to the sataghanis which were placed to defend the gates of Lanka, says that they were steel-made (kalayasamayah), sharp (sitah) and formidable-looking (bhimah). This agrees remarkably with what we learn about the weapon from later commentators. For instance the commentator on the Arthasastra defines it as a "big pillar provided with an immense number of sharp points on its surface, and situated on

the top of a fort wall". The Vaijayanti (p. 118, 11.337-8) describes it as a huge block of stone (mahasita), studded with iron spikes. Presumably these heavy objects were kept on the gates and walls of fortresses in order that they might be thrown on a besieging force attempting an assault. Presumably, too, these gigantic blocks of stone or wood were provided with wheels to facilitate movement. Time and again in the Mahabharata, the sataghnis are described as wheeled (sacakrah) instruments. One verse in the Dronaparva (198, 19) specifies the number of wheels as two and four.

As stated above, there seems to have been a second variety of sataghnis, which were used as ordinary projectiles along with spears and javelins. These are referred to in the Salyaparva (45, 109-10) as "held in hand" like clubs, swords and hammers. Elsewhere (Karnaparva, 11, 8; 16, 17) they are stored in a war-car along with a multitude of other weapons. Moreover, like the swords and spears, they are described as "ornamented with bells" (sakin-kinih). In all cases, however, these hand-sataghnis are 'flung', but they produce no greater effect than that of ordinary projectile weapons. In his Raghuvamsa (XII, 95-6), Kalidasa describes Ravana hurling a sataghni, but it is soon split to pieces. The sataghni itself is described as studded with iron spikes (ayahsankucitam). The later Nitiprakasika (V, 48-9) says that the sataghni was made of iron, was provided with thorns and had the look of a hammer (mudgara).

It is not improbable, therefore, that the second variety of sataghnis resembled the first in general appearance; only they were shorter, lighter, altogether more handy, and hence used as projectiles.

5.6:11: Defensive Arms : Defensive arms may be considered under two main heads, viz., shield and body-armour. The usual terms for the former, in Sanskrit are avarana, carma, phalaka, etc.; for the latter varman (Somesvara: 1926) kavaca sannaha, tanutrana, etc. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), Kautilya uses the term avarana in the generic sense of shields and varman for different kinds of body-armour.

5.6:11-1: Shields : We have recorded elsewhere the evidence of the classical authors that in the fourth century B.C. the Indians used bucklers of undressed ox-hide- the bucklers used by the cavalry being somewhat shorter than those of the infantry. The Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18) and the Mahabharata furnish us with ampler details regarding the construction of early shields. Kautilya says "Peti (basketry), carma (leather-shield), hastikarna (elephant's ear, so-called perhaps because of the shape), tatamula, dhamanuka (bladder), Kavata (door-wing) kitika (light shield) apratihata (irresistible) and valaha-kanta (cloud-edges) are the instruments used in self-defence (avaranam)". The commentator explains peti as a kind of mat made of kusanavalli (a creeper), carma as a kind of cover made of leather, hastikarna as "a board to form a cover to the body", talamula as a "wooden shield",

kavata as "a wooden board", and kitika as"a kind of shield of reed and leather". The apratihata is left unexplained, but the name indicates that it was particularly strong. The valahakanta however, is said to be the same as apratihata, only with the edges wrapped with strips of iron. It is clear, therefore, that in the age of Kautilya shields were constructed of a variety of materials such as creepers, bamboo, wood and leather. The same materials were also used in the fabrication of medieval shields.

The frequent mention in the Mahabharata of the epithet carma for shield probably shows that the knights used hide-shields in preference to others. These shields were sometimes prepared from the skin of tigers, more frequently from that of bulls (arsabha). They were, moreover, elaborately decorated and damascened with golden stars, crescents and moons. A passage in the Santiparva (166, 51) mentions a shield (carma) studded with three bosses (trikutam). But besides the hide-shield, there was another kind called phalaka (mentioned, for instance, in Sauptikaparva, 8, 56; Santiparva, 100,9). In one passage it is said to have been held in the left hand (savye ca phalake bhrsam); in another it is differentiated from carma. The saravara or saravarana, mentioned in the Bhismaparva (60, 17; 90, 40) and the Dronaparva (13, 72) may have been just another name for a shield. Hopkins says that it "may be anything that protects the body from arrows such as shields, helm, breast-plate, etc. But in the passages, referred to above, the interpretation of shield seems most appropriate. In the Bhismaparva (60,17) it is, like

she continues, "are most interesting and vary greatly. Round hide shields are common in modern India, elephant and rhinoceros hide being chiefly used. The little parrying shield to be seen at Ajanta is iconographical and appears in many southern Indian sculptures.

5.6:12: Body Armour : The mention of such terms as varman and drapi in the Rgveda shows that some kind of body armour or corselet was known to, and used by, the nobles and chiefs of the early Vedic period. Of what material it was made is not known. There are references, however, to sewing (syuta), "which may be reckoned in favour of the use of linen corselets such as those recorded by Herodotus". The Atharva-veda (XI. 10, 22) uses the term kavaca in the sense of a corselet or breast-plate. The Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana (IV. 1, 3) explicitly mentions metal armour, but it is doubtful whether any importance can be attached to this.

Passing over to the fourth century B.C., we feel ourselves on surer ground. Referring to the armour which Porus wore in the battle of the Hydaspes, Arrian says that it was 'shot-proof' and "remarkable for its strength and the closeness with which it fitted his person, as could afterwards be observed by those who saw him". But he was "wounded in the right shoulder, where only he was unprotected by mail. McCrindle: 1923). Curtius adds that the armour of Porus was embellished with gold and silver, and that it "set off his supremely majestic person to great

advantage (McCrindle: 1923). It seems reasonable to believe that it was some metal armour which Porus wore, but whether it was of the cuirass type or of the inter-linked chain-mail variety cannot be determined.

The combined testimony of the Mahabharata and the Arthasastra, however, proves that both these types of armour, besides wadded coats of quilted cotton, were known near about the same period. In the former work, the varman and the kavaca are usually described as made of iron or steel, covered with lacquered ornamentation in gold and colours. The decorations used on them, however, are the same as on shields, such as suns, circular bosses, eyes, etc. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II, ch. 18), Kautilya describes the materials out of which the different kinds of body armour, as known to his age, were fabricated. The relevant passage may be rendered as follows: "Iron-net (loha-jala), little iron-net, (loha-jalika), iron plate garment (loha-patta), iron armour (kavaca), sutraka, and a contrivance of skin hoof and horn of Delphinus gangeticus, rhinoceros, dhemuka (according to Sham, buffalo; according to Gan., Gayal), elephant and cattle are protective clothing (varmani).

The loha-jala or loha-jalika was undoubtedly a hauberk of interlinked chain-mail. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata also, but here the poet's fancy makes it of gold. According to Bhattasvamin's commentary, the loha-jala covered the whole body, including the head, while the jalika left the

head bare. The same authority explains loha-patta as a coat of iron without cover for the arms. The kavaca appears to have been a cuirass, composed of breast and back-plates and perhaps resembling those worn in Europe during the Middle Ages. The sutraka (or sutra-kankata, as Can. reads it), on the other hand, was assuredly a jacket of quilted cotton. Lastly, there was a kind of body armour fabricated from hides, hoofs and horns of certain animals (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

It is probable that the different varieties of armour mentioned in the Arthasastra remained a permanent feature of Indian armoury throughout our period. The dark or dusky-coloured iron armour is repeatedly referred to in Magha's Susupalavadha (XVIII, 20, XIX. 11, 26, etc.). The Manasollasa (p. 80, v. 562) mentions coats of mail (sannahah) made of iron, hide, cotton and bark. The Jukti-kalpataru (p. 140, v. 37), however, seems to imply that metal armour, though well-known, was not in common use. The very cost of metal armour, apart from its intricacies, must have tended to make it a monopoly of the higher classes. The rank and file had probably to satisfy themselves either with simple shields or with wadded coats of quilted cotton or with both.

5.6:11-3: Helmet, Neck-protector, Bracer, etc.: Besides shields and body-armour, there were in use other kinds of protective devices. These are summed up by Kautilya as follows: "Sirastrana (cover for the head), kantha-trana (cover for the neck),

kurpasa (cover for the trunk), kancuka (a coat extending as far as the knuckles), varabana (lit. "arrow-averter), patta (a coat without cover for the arms) and nagodarika (finger-gloves).

The sirastrana (probably the same as sipra of the Rv.) is mentioned in a multitude of other works. But it is difficult to make out its exact composition. The Mahabharata represents it "to be of metal and adorned with gems, chiefly the diamond. It might well have been a steel head-piece, which was worn along with the cuirass of chain-mail; but it might also be mere folds of cloth, adjusted on the head to protect it from a sword-blow. The kantha-trana (neck-protector), too, is mentioned in the Mahabharata (e.g. Dronaparva, 125, 18), but here as elsewhere it is a mere name without details. The nagodarika of the Arthasastra is the same as the angulitra or angulitrana of the Mahabharata. It was a shooting-glove used by the bowman for the protection of his fingers, and probably consisted of leathern finger-stalls sewn to corresponding straps.

Besides the shooting glove, the archer used an arm-guard or bracer to protect his arm from the blow of the string when the arrow was loosed. The term for the bracer in the Rgveda is hastaghna. Katyayana has hastatra, and the Mahabharata hastavapa and talatra as its equivalents. The epic evidence proves that it was made of iguana-skin. Rajendralal Mitra asserts, on what authority we do not know, that metal gauntlets were used in later ages (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow.

5.7: EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENT OF INFANTRY

The equipment of the infantry, like the dress of the common people, must have varied iron age to age, and region to region. But our sources of information are so scantly that it is well-nigh impossible to throw any light on these local and periodic variations. Arrian, from whom we get a short description of the equipment of Indian foot-soldiers in the 4th century B.C., prefaces his account with the significant remark that "it is not to be regarded as the only one vogue". Evidently there were other modes of equipment, besides the one noticed and described by the Greek historian.

Arrian says that Indian foot-soldiers in the fourth century B.C. carried a bow made of equal length with the man who bore it. "This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards (Kalidasa, Raghuvamsa: 1905), for the shaft they use is little short of being three years long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot- neither shield, nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance) they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow.

It will appear from the above quotation that the bow was the principal weapon of the infantry of this epoch; but the sword and javelin were also used. The bas-reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi, (assigned respectively to the second and first century B.C.), show that the same mode of equipment prevailed over wide regions of the country, and persisted till well-nigh the beginning of the Christian era. Nearly all the infantry in the scene depicting the "War of Relics" at Sanchi are represented as archers. But several of them are also furnished with broad, heavy swords, and javelins. In one of the bas-reliefs a soldier covered by a shield is shown holding a javelin horizontally ready to launch it forward. There is, however, one great distinction between the foot-soldier's equipment as described by Arrian and that revealed by Sanchi and Bharhut sculptures. The classical author seems to imply that all classes of infantry- archers, swordsmen and isvelin-bearers- had shields to protect them. The bas-reliefs at Sanchi and Bharhut, however, show that only the swordsmen and javelin-bearers were provided with shields, but the archers were without them, probably because they had their hands already full (Maisey, Sanchi and its Remains, London: 1892) The evidence of Kautilya confirms what we learn from the sculptures. In Bk. X, ch. 5 of the Arthasastra, in course of a discussion about the formation of battle-arrays, he says that an array of pure infantry may be formed with the men with shields in front and archers in the rear (Arthasastra, Bk.II, ch. 18). This two-fold classification of infantry into avaraninah and

dhanvinah is noteworthy, and leads one to doubt the accuracy of Arrians statement in this particular. It is, however, possible that the practice noticed by the classical historian was confined to the northwest, and did not obtain currency in other parts of the country.

The bas-reliefs at Sanchi and Bharhut also shed some light on the soldiers' dress in the first and second centuries B.C. At Sanchi the typical archer has always a head-dress, very much like a modern pugree, with a large knot on the top. He wears a cotton cloth in the fashion of a kilt, and this is held by means of a belt. The belt is remarkably long and begins encircling just near the chest till it comes down below the nave ara is thea tied in a long bow. From the fact of tying, as also from the successive encirclements round the body, it may be inferred that the belt is made of linen. The upper part of the archer's body usually looks bare, but was probably, as Cunningham (1854) says, covered by a light-fitting jacket of some kind. The mode of fastening the quiver to the back is peculiar and picturesque. "The quiver is fastened to the right shoulder, and the fastenings, which are apparently leather straps, are passed over both shoulders, crossed in front, and carried to the back, where they were probably passed through a ring in the end of the quiver, and then carried to the front and again crossed, the ends being secured by loops to the upper straps (Cunningham:1854).

[illegible] the scabbard, appears to be twice crossed over the scabbard downwards, and then fastened to a ring at the tip, below which

At Bharhut there is a figure of a foot-soldier, nearly life-size, and in such fine preservation that all the details of his costume can be distinguished with ease. We cannot do better than describe it in the wofds of Cunningham. "His head is bare, and the short curly hair is bound with a broad band or ribbon, which is fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the wind. His dress consists of a tunic with long sleeves, and reaching nearly to the mid-thigh. It is tied in two places by cords; at the throat by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double-looped bow. The loins and thighs are covered with a dhoti which reaches below the knees, the ends hanging down to the ground in front of a series of extremely stiff and formal folds. On the feet are boots, which reach high up the legs, and are either fastened or finished by a cord with two tassels, like those on the neck of the tunic. In his left hand the soldier carries a flower, and in his right a monstrously broad straight sword, sheathed in a scabbard, which is suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt. The extreme breadth of the sword may be judged by comparing it with the with the thickness of the man's arm, which it exceeds, while its length may be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or perhaps somewhat more. The belt of the sword is somewhat straight, and without a guard. The face of the scabbard is ornamented with the favourite Buddhist Omega symbol of Tri-ratna, or the triple gem. The sword belt, after being passed through a ring attached to the side of the scabbard, appears to be twice crossed over the scabbard downwards, and then fastened to a ring at the tip, below which

the broad ends hang down like the ends of a scarf (Cunningham: 1879).

We hardly know anything about the equipment of foot-soldiers during the next few centuries. In the frescoes at Ajanta (1915) which are usually assigned to the Gupta period, the footmen are generally depicted as carrying swords or spears in their right hand and shields in their left. On the Begur Stone Sculpture we find the infantry equipped on similar lines. In the same way, Magha in his Śiśupalvadha (XVIII, 4, 10, 21; XIX, 55), describes the infantry as armed with swords and shields. But that these were not the only weapons used by the infantry of the Gupta and post-Gupta period is shown by the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang. Describing the equipment of the Indian infantry in the 7th century A.D., the pilgrim says: "They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these- spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins and various kinds of slings". "These weapons", the pilgrim adds "they have used for ages (Beal Samuel: 1906).

5.8 EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENT OF CAVALRY

It is difficult to decide when and how the bridle and the saddle came to form a part of the horse's equipment. Arrian (1926) says that in the fourth century B.C. the Indians had a

bit but no curb bit, and directed the horse by a spike outside, that is, behind the jaw. Hopkins points out that in the multifarious heaps of articles described as abandoned on the battlefield, the Mahabharata makes no mention of bits or saddles. Fergusson states that the presence of the bit in the sculptures at Sanchi is extremely doubtful.

It is probable that the great architect considered the subject too trivial to require sufficient attention. For, a closer examination of the Sanchi sculptures will reveal the presence of both bitted and unbitted horses. The former are specially noticeable in the South and West torana, the latter in the North. Where bits are used, the horses have out two bands in their head-stall. But when the spike (behind the jaw) is intended, the head-stall has three bands, one passing over the nostrils, another beneath and a third above the eyes.

The same curious phenomenon is also noticed at Ajanta. In cave No. 17, usually ascribed to the 4th century A.D., there are some finely painted horses, wearing bits, which plainly enter the mouth. On the other hand, in the procession of cave No. I horses are represented as without bits. Similarly, in a large slab from Belur, now deposited in the Museum at Bangalore, there are two horses having the reins going plainly to the back of the jaw and not to the mouth. The stone is ascribed to the middle of the ninth century A.D. (J.A.O.S.: 1898). This representation of unbitted horses long after bits had become well-known 1930). As against this, however, we have the statement of Al

in the country may be due to the conservatism of religious art. It is not impossible, however, that two different modes of guiding the horse, with and without bit, continued side by side for centuries.

The question as to when the saddle first came into use in India is equally difficult to decide. In the Mahabharata we find frequent mention of such epithets as the pithaka (Virataparva, 21,33) pithamarda (Virataparva, 21,33), khalina (Bhismaparva, 54, 59ff.) asvastara, paristoma, rankava (Bhismaparva, 96, 74) etc. indicating thereby the existence of some covering for the horse's back. Hopkins suggests that these probably consisted of only blankets (kambola), which are often stated to be found on the field after a day's fight (J.A.O.S.: 1898). But the saddle, along with stirrups, is clearly perceptible on some of the horses at Sanchi (Miasey: 1892). Sir John Marshall (1918) says that this "is the earliest example by some five centuries of the use of stirrups in any part of the world". The saddle is also represented on the Asvamedha type of Kumaragupta I's coins. The Kurram plates of the Pallava king Paramesvaravarman I mention that the royal horse "bore a saddle set with jewels (Epigraphic India; 1892). In the procession of the first cave of Ajanta, already referred to, the horses are provided with saddles. These are of the charjama type with short stirrups. "There are leather straps round the throat and across the fore-head, and embroidered bands round the nose and across the muzzle (C.Yazdani, Ajanta: 1930). As against this, however, we have the statement of Al

'Beruni that as late as the eleventh century A.D. the Indians "ride without a saddle, but if they put on a saddle, they mount the horse from its right side. The only way in which we can harmonise these two rival sets of evidence is on the supposition that though the use of the saddle was well-known in the country, the mass of the people rode their horses without one. It is not impossible that the use of the saddle was regarded as a mark of distinction, and was consequently confined to the higher aristocratic classes.

Horses were occasionally provided with a kind of armour. The Mulaipattu, a Tamil Idyll, mentions "shields of protection for horses". The Rajatarangini (VIII, 728) refers to 'armour-clad horses'. The Manasollasa (p. 135, v. 1187) speaks of horses 'well-protected by means of body-armour'- gatra-trana suraksitaih asvaih. Representations of horsemen on certain coins of the Guptas and the Hindu kings of Ohind (c. 875 to 1000 A.D.) further confirm the above view. (Allan, John: 1914).

The riders themselves generally appear as wearing ordinary tunics, but sometimes they wore breast-plates or coats of mail and strong helmets. In the Arthasastra (Bk. X. ch. 5) Kautilya contemplates an array of pure cavalry, in which, he says, the centre is to be occupied by heavy armoured horsemen, and the flanks and wings by those without armour. Representations of mailed horsemen may be seen on some Gupta coins and the "Bull and Horseman" type of the kings of Ohind (Allan, John: 1914).

For weapons they generally carried long lances for the charge and swords for the melee. Concerning the equipment of the Indian horsemen in the 4th century B.C., Arrian says that it consisted of two lances and a short buckler- "shorter than that carried by the infantry (McCrindle, J.W.: 1926). The Mahabharata usually describes them as armed with spears (sakti), lances (prasa) and short swords (rsti) (Bhismaparava 57, 11, 19; Drona-parva, 165, 21, etc.). In the Ramayana, besides the above, they are assigned battle-axes (parasvadha), maces (gada), and hammers (mudgara) (Lanka-kanda, 62,11). The Horseman type of Gupta coins depict the mounted kings as armed with swords and bows. In some of the frescoes at Ajanta (Pl. XVII) horseman are equipped with spears. The Kurram Plates mention "squadrons of horsemen connected by their swords that had struck each other's heads. The Sisupalavadha (XVIII, 23) speaks of mountedtroops as armed with kuntas (spears). Similarly, the kings of Chind are found on their coins as carrying heavy spears in their right hand. The Rajatarangini (VIII, 947-53) contains a reference to "horsemen whose drawn sabres formed a line". The Jainad Stone Inscription of the Paramara Jagaddeva (king of Malava in the latter part of the 11th century) attributes fances, swords and nooses to horse-riders.

A close serutiny of old records would appear to reveal, however, a grave defect in the equipment of the Indian horseman. He does not seem to have ever developed any marked proficiency in mounted archery. The bow was indeed held in high esteem, but it was the weapon par excellence of the infantry and chariot-men,

not of the cavalry. The epics with all their wealth of details regarding military matters are hardly cognisant of such a thing as horse-archery. The historians of Alexander make no mention of Indian horse-bowmen. The Siva-Dhanurveda, which gives detailed rules regarding the practice of archery in its different branches is curiously silent about the training of horse-archers.

But the Scythian and Parthian satraps, who invaded and conquered north-western India in the first century B.C., appear to have been well-acquainted with the art of horse-archery. This is shown by certain types of their coins. King Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, and the satrap Jihunia or Zeionises are depicted on their coins as horsemen equipped with bows (Smith: 1906). It is not preposterous to think that superiority of cavalry in general and of horse-archery in particular, was one of the causes which facilitated their military success in India.

The testimony of numismatics further indicates that the art thus introduced by the Scythian and Parthian invaders long outlived their political domination in India. It seems even probable that it survived to the time of the Guptas. On certain types of their coins, Candragupta II, Kumaragupta and Prakasaditya are represented as horse-archers. Candragupta and Kumaragupta are seen riding fully caparisoned horses and holding their bows in their hands (Allan John: 1914). Prakasaditya is portrayed as seated on his horse, with a sword in his right hand which he thrusts at a leaping lion, and a bow round his body with its

string resting on his left shoulder (Allan John: 1914). It is not impossible that these coins were merely the products of a servile imitative tendency on the part of the Guptas; but the more probable hypothesis seems to be that they bear on them the imprint of a military custom which was well known to, and practised in, Gupta India.

Nevertheless, the art of mounted archery did not strike deep roots in the Indian soil. Introduced by the Parthians and continuing for a time as a sickly exotic, it wunered away shortly after the Gupta period. This is the impression that one gathers from a study of the records of post-Gupta India. Whether we ransack the valuable works left to us by the Chinese pilgrims and Muhammadan chroniclers, or examine the indigenous literature, inscriptions, sculptures and coins of the later Hindu period, we will scarcely find a reference to Indian horse-archers. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that after a short endeavour to learn this important branch of the art of war, the Hindus fell back into their old grooves and relapsed into their traditional tactics (R.C. Majumdar: 1922).

This lack of horse-archery was another fatal lack in the military system of ancient India. It was especially so, because the Turks, who invaded India in the 11th and 12th centuries, were past-masters in that art. They had inherited it as a legacy from the old Parthians, and had demonstrated its effectiveness on many a field in the West. The battles of Manzikert

and Dorylaeum had proclaimed to the world the excellent fighting skill of the Turkish horse-archers; and India moved as easy a victim to their onslaught as the Byzantine empire after the extinction of the Basilian dynasty. The Indian foot-archers, with their formal drill and slow traditional tactics, were no match for the swift-moving light Turkish horse-bowmen.

5.9: EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENT OF ELEPHANT

Unlike the horse, the elephant was usually ridden by several warriors. Megasthenes says that in his time the usual practice was for a war-elephant to carry three fighting men, of whom two shot from the side, while the third shot from behind. "There is also a fourth man, who carries in his hand the goad wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as the pilot and captain of a ship direct its course with the helm". Wilson remarks that this account agrees well with what may be gleaned from incidental notices of Sanskrit writers. In the sculptures at Sanchi, however, we find three, instead of four, riders seated on each war-elephant. The same is the case in the frescoes at Ajanta. The Manasollasa, on the contrary, speaks of two warriors as riding an elephant, whereas the Agni Purana (252, 31) enjoins that every war-elephant, should carry two hook-bearers, two archers and two swordsmen (Chakravarti: 1987).

The elephantry fought with both missile and short-arm weapons. In the Mahabharata, the gajarohah or hasti-sadinah, (who, by the way, were generally low-born soldiers, and knights),

are described as armed with knives, daggers, pots of oil, stones and other weapons and missiles. But from the Gupta period onwards, their principal weapons appear to have been bows and arrows. At Ajanta, they are usually depicted as equipped with quivers. In one instance, we find an elephant-warrior actually shooting from his bow. In the Begur stone sculpture, the leader on the elephant is shown as wielding a spear, but he is attended by an archer in the howdah. Magha in his Sisupalavadha (XVIII, 9, 24, 39) speaks of bowmen discharging their arrows from the back of elephants. While describing Yasovarman's contest with the Cedi king, the author of the Khajuraho Inscription (No. 11) says that the latter "tried to protect himself by showers of enraged irresistible archers, standing on mighty infuriated elephants, that were marching along like towering Anjana mountains. The Kurram plates of Pallava Paramesvara-varman I mention "heroes holding bows and riding mighty elephants (Chaktravarti: 1987).

Besides the warriors, the elephant carried a driver called ankusadhara, because he always carried an ankusa or hook to guide and direct the beast. In the Dronaparva (148, 46) the hook is described as 'gilded' like the whip; and so does the Tamil poet Kapilar (Puram 14). There are beautiful sculptural representations of the hook at Bharhut and Sanchi. Magha (XVIII, 30) says that the ankusa had peacock feathers attached to it. According to Sukra, again, the hook had one point for driving on and another for drawing back. The tottra, mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Arthasastra (1923) appears to have been

another instrument used for the same purpose.

The elephants themselves appear to have been elaborately equipped from very early times. In the Vessantara-Jataka they are described as wearing ornaments on the four feet and on their sides, a blanket under their belley, a rug on their back and ornaments on the frontal globes. In the Mahabharata, they are referred to as armed with spikes and iron harness, and wearing a kaksya or girth about the middle, "neckchains, bells, wreaths, nets, umbrellas, and blankets, possibly with rings about the feet. Kautilya gives the following account about the war accoutrement of elephants: "A hook, a bamboo staff and machines (yantra) are instruments. Necklaces, such as vaijayanti and ksurapramala, and litter and housings are the ornaments of elephants. Mail armour (varma), tottra, arrow bags and machines are war instruments. At Bharhut and Sanchi, the elephant is provided with a housing on its back, which is sometimes plain but more often ornamented. The head of the animal is usually encircled by a string of pearls with pendant symbols. Two bells are attached to the front corners of the housing; but when the housing is very small, the bells are hung down the elephant's body by means of short ropes, fixed to the howdah itself. Round the elephant's body a twisted cord is firmly tied, and people mounting the beast probably did so with its help.

In his Harsacarita, Bana refers to "gaudy housings on elephants," "kept tight on their back by means of girth-hands,"

to "bells tied to their necks", and again, to "girths", which "confining on either side the ends of the saddle, kept their cloth cushions motionless and gave a firm seat". From the account of Hiuen Tsiang and the Sisupalavadha of Magha, it may be inferred that two important additions, were made to the equipment of war-elephants in the last centuries of our period. One of these, referred by the Chinese pilgrim, was that the tusks of elephants came to be provided with sharp barbs. The other, spoken of by Magha, was the adoption of a practice of covering the eyes of elephants by means of cloths, which were not removed until the commencement of the conflict (Chakravarti: 1967).

The howdah of the back of elepants is also often referred to in early Muhammadan chronicles, but the easy manner in which they were set on fire by naphtha balls thrown by the enemy, shows that they were not, as in the Middle Ages, covered with iron or brass plates (Elliot: 1772).

5.10: CHANDELA'S MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

5.10:1: The King- (Military Administrative Head): The king was expected to rule the kingdom according to the law of the sacred texts, and the Chandela inscriptions often mention this fact. A Khajuraho inscription states that Hars "The most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (Epigraphic Indica: Vol. I, p. 126). Dhanga is also praised for acting in accordance with the law (Indian Antiqueary, Vol. XVI, p. 204). It can hardly

be expected that all the Chandela kings possessed all the high qualities demanded of them. But that kings like Dhanga, Vidyadhara, Kirtivarma and others had qualities of statesmanship, heroism, self confidence and intelligence is evident from their achievements both in the political field and in other respects. Besides being the administrative head of the state: the king was the Military leader of the country and led continuous dynastic struggles for supremacy and sometimes even for existence, Thus the generalship of the king was of great importance.

The Chandela's king had absolute authority on all the affairs of the state, but like other rulers; the Chandela king had also a council of ministers, of whom one was the chief minister (mantrimukhya). In military and foreign affairs he was assisted by the senapati and the ministef for peace and war (sandhivigrahika).

5.10:II: List of Offices, Military & Foreign, Under the Chandela Empire

5.10:II-1: Military

a) Senapati: Commander-in-Chief : The head of the army was the senapati. According to the Agni and Matsya Puranas, the Commander-in-chief must be either a Brahmana or a Ksatriya. (P.V. Kane: 1930). Sukra says that a Ksatriya should be preferred as senapati, but if a valiant Ksatriya be not [illegible] raised from the people-[illegible] (vaisya or sudra). These brought

available a Brahman may be chosen, but a Vaisya or a sudra should not be selected (Sukraniti, ii. pp. 865-866). Reference to a Senapati is found in one Chandela inscription, where king Paramardi is recorded to have granted land to a Brahmana Senapati named Madanapalasarman (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXV, p. 207). Other Military officers were as follows:

b) Maha-Samanta : Feudatory prince of a higher rank.

c) Samanta : Feudatory Prince of a lower rank.

d) Kottapala or Durgadhaksya or Durgadhikari: Officer in-charge of forts.

e) Prantapala or Dvarapala : Officer in-charge of frontier.

f) Provincial Governors all chared with responsible military duties.

g) Maryadadhurja: Officer in-charge of boundaries.

5.10:II-2 : FOREIGN

a) Duta: (Envoys)

Duta to maintain regular relations with foreign countries.

5.11: Recruitment of Army : In early Vedic times the king probably maintained no standing army. He had a small retinue of personal attendants, who acted as his body-guard, served him in hall and bower, and went out on his errands. When any expedition for offensive or defensive purposes was necessary, local levies were raised from the people-caste (visah or vaisyas). These brought

their own arms and weapons, and were probably captained by their own chiefs (A.C. Das: 1923).

It was from the nucleus of a body of king's personal retainers that there grew up a standing army of the state. We do not know when this great change took place. It is certain, however, that in the fourth century B.C., when Alexander invaded India, standing armies had become a normal feature of Indian military life. The causes which lea to this development seem to have been mainly two-first, the increasing unwillingness on the part of cultivators to leave their plough for an indefinite length of time, and second, the ambition of rulers to conquer more territories and absorb them in their growing empires. A strong standing army was the very sine qua non for an activist, expansionist policy. It is worthy of note that Magadh which had been consistently following a policy of expansion since about the 6th century B.C., was in possession of the strongest standing army in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Classical authors offer us a glimpse of the sort of life led by the army of Candragupta Maurya. Megasthenes says that when not engaged in active service, the soldiers passed their time in idleness and drinking. "They are maintained at the king's expense, and hence are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their bodies". Arrian reports that they lived a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. "They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, others supply them with

Ancient Tamil authors sometimes speak of the Yavana bodyguard of Pandya kings. We learn from the Chachnama that in the 8th

horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight, they fight; and when peace returns, they abandon themselves to enjoyment- the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves and others besides" (McCrindle: 1926).

It may be assumed that most of the post-Mauryan dynasties maintained standing armies of their own, the number and strength of which, of course, depended upon the extent of territory they controlled and their economic resources. But simultaneously with this maintenance of standing armies, the old Vedic custom of raising local levies on the occasion of a grave emergency seems to have continued. Describing the military usages prevailing in the 7th century A.D. Hiuen Tsiang says: " The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of service; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled (Beal Samuel: 1911). Elsewhere he writes: "The summonses are issued according to circumstance, and after proclamation of the reward the enrolment is awaited (Walter Thomas: 1905).

Both literary and epigraphic records prove that the army was not always composed of local recruits alone, but was strengthened by the enlistment of foreign adventurers. To this latter category probably belonged the bhrtas or mercenaries mentioned in the Arthasastra and other politico-military manuals. Ancient Tamil authors sometimes speak of the Yavana body-guard of Pandya kings. We learn from the Chachnama that in the 8th

century A.D. king Dahir of Sindh had in his employ as many as 500 Arab troopers under the leadership of Muhammad Allafi (Elliot & Dowsan. 1772). The Kanaswa. Inscription of Sivagana, dated 738-739 A.D., says that the rulers of the Maurya race were "served by armies from afar": dur-abhyagatavahini-parikara (Indian Antiquary, XIX, 58). The Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala informs us that the Bengal army, during the period of Pala supremacy, was composed of troops not merely from Gauda, but also from Malava, Khasa, Huna, Kulika, Karnata and Lata countries (Indian Antiquary, XV, 306). From the Rajatarangini we learn that the kings of Kasmir recruited mercenaries not only from Rajputana, the Salt Range (Saindhava) (Rajputana Gazetteer, 11-A) in the Punjab and distant Rajagrha in Magadha (Rajputana Gazetteer, 11-A) but also from the Yavanas (Rajputana Gazetteer, 11-A) and the Turuskas (Rajputana Gazetteer, 11-A). The Rajputs who in later times appear to have acquired a reputation similar to that of the Swiss Guards in medieval Europe, found a hospitable market in every state, and Kalhana's narrative makes it abundantly clear that they, along with other foreigners, constituted the mainstay of the Kasmirian rulers. Time and again, the chronicler speaks of the bravery and fidelity of the Rajaputras and other mercenaries in sad contrast with the inveterate cowardice and empty bragging of the indigenous troops of Kasmir (Chakravarti, P.C.: 1987).

The popular notion that the military profession was the exclusive monopoly of the Ksatriya caste is wholly without

foundation. Equally erroneous is the assertion made by Wheeler (1905) that "except in some wildly supernatural legends, the Brahmans are not represented as warriors". We need not recount here the formal law according to which any priest might serve as a soldier if unable to support himself as a priest (Gautam Dharmasastra, VIII-6). It is well-known that some of the most celebrated warriors in the Mahabharata such as Drona, Asvatthaman and Parasu-Rama were born in the priestly class. The Sarabhanga Jataka relates the story of a Brahman priest of Benares sending his son to Taxila for training in archery (Cowell, E.B.: 1895). It is stated in the classical chronicles that Alexander in the course of his campaigns in India met with the most stubborn resistance from the Brahman confederacy of the Indus valley. They denounced those princes who submitted to the Macedonian, and goaded the free tribes into open revolt. Arrian mentions a "city of the Brahmanas", to which Alexander laid siege. For some-time the inhabitants beat back his onslaughts with vigour and determination. But at length considering the situation desperate, they "set fire to their houses, in which they were sought and killed, but most part fell fighting. About 5,000 in all were killed, and as they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners (McCrindle: 1926). Alexander regarded the Brahmans as his worst enemies, and his hand fell heavily upon them. As the Greek historian says: "They were put to death whole-sale; their bodies were hung up for the kites and vultures by the roads-to the unspeakable horror, we may believe, of the people of the land.

Epigraphic Indica, IV-314).

3. Gopala. He was a Brahman general of the Chandela king

The records of succeeding centuries point definitely to the conclusion that the Brahmans continued to serve as soldiers and commanders of armies throughout our period. The names and exploits of Pusyamitra, the Brahman commander-in-chief of the last Mauryan monarch. Brhadratha, and of Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavasi, are too well-known to need recapitulation. Epigraphic records disclose the names of a host of other Branman generals, who figured prominently in the military history of Gupta and post-Gupta India. A few instances are cited below:

1. Prthivisena- In the Karamdanda Inscription of the reign of Kumaragupta, he has been described as the mantrin, kumaramatya and maha-baladhikrta (commander-in-chief) of the emperior. That he was a Brahman by birth will be apparent from the fact that his grandfather has been referred to as "a teacher of the Chandogya (veda), of the gotras Asva and Vajin (Epigraphic Indica, X-72).

2. Mandalika Vanapati. He was a Brahman of the atreya gotra, and a general of Rajaraja of the Ganga dynasty. The Dirghasi Inscription, dated 1075-76 A.D., says that he led the king's forces, won a victory over the contemporary Cola king (Rajendra-cola or Kulottunga-cola I), and subjugated the kings of Vengi, Kimidi (now a zamindari in the Ganjan district). Kosala (corresponding to the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries), Gidrisingi and Odda (Orissa) (Epigraphic Indica, IV-314).

3. Gopala. He was a Brahman general of the Chandela king

Kirtivarman. A Chandela Inscription from Mahoba says that he vanquished the Cedi monarch, Karna, and re-instated his master on his rightful throne (Epigraphic Indica: I-220).

4. Madanapalasarman. He was a general under the Chandela king, Paramardideva. We learn from the Icchawar plates, dated 1171 A.D., that his father Thakkura Mahesvara was "a Brahman of the Krsnatreya gotra, who studied the sakha of the Chandogyas".

5. Medamarya, a commander in the army of Vira-coda-deva (also known as Visnuvardhana).

6. Krsna Rama, the great commander-in-chief of Raja-raja the Great and Rajendra-cola. That he was a Brahman by birth is apparent from his title Nummadi-sora-brahmanarayan.

7. Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumarapaladeva. He is credited with having won two notable victories for his master- one in the southern part of Vanga and the other in the East ((Epigraphic Indica, 11-106).

8. Guravamisra, the minister of Narayanapala. In the Badal Pillar Inscription, he is referred to as follows: "In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the sastras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies".

9. Brahma or Brahman, the Brahman general of the last Calukya emperor, Somesvara IV. In an inscription of 1175 A.D., he is described as the maha-pradhana, dandanayaka and senadhipati of the king.

10. Kholesvara. He was a minister-general of the Yadava king Singhana (c. 1210-47 A.D.). The Amba Inscription says that he "humbled the Gurjaras and the Malavas, and destroyed the race of the 'heroic Abhira king'. His worthy son, Rama, is also said to have led an expedition against the Gurjaras, but was slain.

Moreover, there are a few passages in the Rajatarangini which go to show that Brahman troops were often enlisted in the Kasmirian army. It is noteworthy that Kalhana sometimes eulogies the fidelity and resoluteness of Brahman troops in contradistinction with the treachery and fickleness of other classes of soldiers. After Sussala's murder, for instance, the relatives of the king, as well as his troops, broke away pell-mell. But the Brahmanas Lavanaraja and Yasoraj, who were skilled in military exercises, and the chief of Kanda were the only three who fell bravely fighting (Rajputana Gazetteer, VIII-1345). Elsewhere we read: "The whole force run away, and only the Brahman Kalyanaraja, who was well versed in military exercises, was killed fighting with his face to (the enemy) (Rajasthan Gazetteer, VIII-1071). In the kingdom of Orissa during the period of Kesari and Ganga dynasties, the Mahasthana Brahmans used to contribute a

largely recruited from the Left hand and Right hand (idankaiyar and Valankaiyar) castes. Similarly the Hoysola army consisted, among others, of gold-smiths, barbers and a large number of Bedas. These last are described in contemporary inscriptions as "the confidential agents of the Hoysala camp. We notice the same phenomenon in the north-western state of Kasmir. Kalhana mentions that there were occasions in the history of this kingdom when cultivators, artisans, and even carters were recruited for the army. Occasionally we hear of men of even lower castes pushing their way to positions of importance in the army. The Draksarama Inscription of Kulottunga I records the meritorious services rendered to that monarch by one of his generals, variously named Vanduraja, Pallavaraja and Timvaranga, and described as the "the crest-jewel of the Sudra family. It is also well-known that the Reddis began their career in history as generals of the Kakatiyas.

The facts and examples cited above totally disprove the contention that the military profession was the exclusive monopoly of any one caste. And yet it is probable that captains and leaders of armies were, oftener than not, members of the higher castes. "Career according to talent" was not an ideal of the social or political system. In discussing the qualifications of the senapti, most ancient writers have emphasised that he must be a man of high social standing, not one from the gutter.

5.12 DISCIPLINE, DRILL AND EXERCISES

We have scanty information about rules connected with the maintenance of discipline in the army. In the Arthasastra (Bk. II. ch. 33) there is a statement that the commander-in-chief should pay special heed to the maintenance of discipline in his army "not merely in camping and marching, but in the thick of battle. In the Santiparva (97, 20-22) there is cited a rule that a deserter from the ranks might be killed, and might even be burnt to death. The Nitiprakasika (VII, 60-63) advocates summary punishment to soldiers, guilty of disobedience or treachery. "A king should in time of war", says the author, "put to death those men who oppose his orders, the soldiers who run away and do not keep their weapons, avaricious generals who fight treacherously, men who do not face the enemy, who fight against each other, who deceitfully tell the enemy the designs of the king, who give way to the enemy and enjoy the king's misfortune". The Sukraniti (ch. IV. sec. vii. 11. 763-778) lays down that military regulations should be communicated to the soldiers once every eighth day, that the troops "should always forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over state affairs, indifference to the injuries of the king, conversation as well as friendship with the enemies", that they must never enter a village without a royal 'permit', and that there should be no credit-transactions between them and the village-folk. It is further enjoined that soldiers themselves were to be held responsible for the tidiness and careful handling of

arms and uniforms. "They should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright (and ready for use)". A subsequent verse (11. 777-778) perhaps implies that those who disobeyed military regulations were punished with death.

The importance of drill and exercises for the army seems to have been realised from very early times. A pre-Kautilyan political thinker maintained the view that a small army of trained troops was better than a large army of "effete persons". Kautilya argues that it is possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm even in the timid "by means of discipline and training. Elsewhere (Bk. V. ch. 3) he says: "Footmen, horses, chariots and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise of all days but those of conjunction (of planets); on these occasions of training, the king shall ever be present and witness the exercise". Kamandaka in his Nitisara puts in a vigorous plea for the daily exercise of troops. "By constant practice", he says, "one becomes an adept in fighting from chariots, horses, elephants and boats, and a past-master in archery; by constant and regular practice (nityakriya) an intelligent man can perform the difficult feats". Elsewhere he enjoins that even when the army is in a camp, the daily drill should not be discontinued. On the contrary, "every day the drill and exercises of soldiers should be performed with various appliances and on grounds cleared of shrubs, stones, trunks, earthen mounds and water (Kamandka Nitisara: 1972, XVI-50, XVII, 16,18,19). Sukra

also lays the utmost emphasis on the drill and training of troops. "The untrained, inefficient and raw recruits", he says, "are all like bales of cotton: The wise should appoint them to other tasks besides warfare" (Sukraniti, IV-See- VII-11, 32,33).

The methods followed in the training of troops must have differed from age to age, and perhaps also from region to region. Elsewhere we have sought to give an idea of the elaborate scheme of training devised for elephants and horses. In the Artha-sastra (Bk. X, ch. 6), Kautilya says: "The nayaka or the brigadier will, by means of trumpet sounds, flags and ensigns (turyaghosa-patakabhih), signalse to the constituents of his army as to when they are to form into divisions (anga-vibhage), when to unite into a compact body (sainghate), when to halt (sthane), when to turn back from the combat and when to make onslaughts". It is only logical to conclude that troops were trained in times of peace in the technique of movements according to signs and sounds In the Nitiprakasika (VI, 58) it is stated that "the king should instruct his troops in those thirty-two movements of war which are acknowledged by polity". What these thirty-two movements were we do not know. The Siva-Dhanurveda, however, provides us with a long list of technical movements and poses, in which the archers were trained. But it will be too tedious to repeat them here. The Dhanurveda-samhita of Vasistha says that besides the differ-ent poses of archery, the foot-soldiers "should be trained in moving backward (pascadgamanam), standing still (sthirikaranam)

lying (sayanam), running apace (dhavanam), rushing headlong into the hostile army, and moving in different directions in accordance with signals".

5.13: PAY AND EMOLUMENTS, REWARDS AND HONOURS

Most ancient writers strongly emphasise the necessity of making regular payment to troops. In the Sabhaparva (5,48-49), a sage asks a king: "Do you give to your troops the sanctioned rations and wages at the appointed time? Or do you cause resentment by withholding them? Do you know that the irritation caused by arrears of pay and irregularity in the distribution of rations goads the troops to mutiny? In the Santi-parva (58-9). Bhisma emphasises the supreme importance of keeping the army contented and gratified, for discontent among troops is a source of grave danger to the state. In the Arthasastra (Bk. VIII. ch. 5). Kautilya considers the withholding of soldiers' pay as one of the primary causes that breed discontent and trouble in the army. According to the Agni Purana (230, 21), again, regular payment to troops is a factor of great importance contributing to the growth of a strong army (Charkravarti, P.C.: 1987).

It may be presumed that the practice of making cash payment to troops was continued in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. Referring to the prince of Balhara, Sulaiman writes that he gave regular pay to his troops, "As is the practice among the Arabs (Elliot: 1772). Beruni writes that as a rule the Hindu

kings in the 11th century A.D. encouraged prostitution. "The kings," he continues, "make them an attraction for the cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which the treasury has to spend on the army (Sachan, E.C.: 1901).

Besides salaries and wages in cash, officers and privates in the army were sometimes rewarded with exemptions from land-revenue, sometimes with assignments of land. In a previous chapter it has already been noted how Kautilya speaks of villages which were exempted from taxation in lieu of the military services which they rendered to the state. Elsewhere in the Artha-sastra (Bk. II. ch. 1), while describing the methods and measures for colonisation of lands, the author says: "Superintendents, accountants, gopas, sthanikas, veterinary surgeons, physicians, horse-trainers, and messangers shall be endowed with lands, which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage". In another context (Bk. V. ch. 3), however, he remarks that a king, who wants to maintain some uniformity of standard through-out his kingdom, must on no account endow his officers and servants with villages.

Whether Kautilya approved the system of paying officers with endowments of land is not quite clear. Probably he did not. But whether he liked it or not, the system came to prevail. As

early as the 2nd century A.D. an inscription of Siri Pulumayi shows military officers holding large fiefs of land (Epigraphic Indica:XIV.9) Describing the political practices of the 7th century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, says that "the king reserved one-fourth of the crown-lands to be bestowed on great public servants (Beal Samual: 1911) and that ministers of state and common officials all have their portion of land, and are maintained by the cities assigned to them (Water Thomas;1905).

Further, epigraphic evidence proves that in the post-Harsan epoch land-grants were frequently made by kings to their successful generals. For instance, an inscription of the Eastern Calukya king, Amma I (c. 918-925 A.D.) describes how his general Mahakala "more than once annihilated the enemy's army", and how the gratified king rewarded his general with the grant of the village of Drujjuru in the Pennatavadivisaya (Epigraphic Indica: V-134). Another inscription describes the same king awarding the village of Conturu, together with twelve other hamlets, to a general named Bhandanaditya (alias Kuntaditya), who had a glorious record of service to the state. In still another epigraphic record, originally found at Atakur and now preserved in the Mysore Government Museum, it is stated that in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by Manaleva, Betuga II gave him the circle of villages known as the Atakur twelve and also a village named Kadiyur or Kadiyur in the Belvola district. This grant is described in the record as a balyachchu or "sword-washing grant", meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by

the ceremony of laying Manakera's sword (Epigraphic Indica: VI-52). Similarly the Carkhari Plate of the Candella king, Viravikramadeva (dated 1254 A.D.), mentions the grant of a village in the Dahivisaya to one Rauta Abhi in recognition of a special deed of valour performed by him in the battle of Sondhi (Epigraphic Indica: XX-132). Sometimes also these land-grants were made in favour of vassal chiefs in recognition of their military services. Thus in the Pithapuram Inscription of Prthivisvara (saka 1108), it is stated that prince Kudiyavarman II of Velanandu, a vassal of the Eastern Calukyas, rendered considerable military aid to his over-lord, Vimaladitya-deva. "Then, pleased by (his) assistance, king Vimaladitya bestowed on prince Kudiyavarman (II) the Gudravara-dvaya", that is, the pair of districts called Gudravara. For similar military aid given by Vedura II, a subordinate chief, against an unnamed Pandya monarch, king Vira-Coda conferred on him the Sindhuyugantara-desa, that is, the country probably between the Krsna and the Godavari (Epigraphic Indica: IV-36).

The above instances, however, show that land-grants were usually made in favour of officers who had distinguished records of service to their credit. But land-grants to officers in normal circumstances, perhaps in lieu of cash wages, were not unknown. The Icchawar Plates, already referred to, state that the Candella king, Paramardideva, granted the village of Nandini in the Nandavana visays to his general (senapati),

Madanapalasarman. A Rock Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (end of the 13th century) says that one Mahesvara was appointed by the Candella Kirtivarman as the visisa of Kalanjara, and endowed with the grant (of the village) of Pipalahika. Similarly another officer named Vase or Vaseka, on being appointed as the guardian of the fortress of Ajayagadh, received the village of Varbhari (Epigraphic Indica: I-336-337).

Besides pay, either in the shape of salaries or land assignments, officers and troops were occasionally given special allowances on the eve of an expedition. Oreover, soldiers who displayed special pluck and courage in the course of a battle were sometimes rewarded with an increase in their pay and rations, sometimes with special monetary allotments, and, in the case of officers, by promotion in rank and honour. A recommendation to this effect in the Mahabharata has already been quoted. In the Arthasastra (Bk. X. ch. 3), we come across a graded list of monetary rewards to be given to troops for acts of special merit. "A hundred thousand (panas)", says Kautilya, "for slaying the king (enemy); fifty-thousand for slaying the commander-in-chief and the heir-apparent; ten thousand for slaying the chief of the brave; five thousand for destroying an elephant or a chariot; a thousand for killing a horse, a hundred (panas) for slaying the chief of the infantry; twenty for bringing a head; and twice the pay in addition to whatever is seized". There are similar recommendations in the Nitisara of Kamandaka (XX, 18-21), the

Agni Purana (242, 34-35), and the Niti-prakasika (VI, 88-99). The last-named work adds that this system of monetary rewards to troops in excess of their regular pay would inspite them to special feats of valour.

Further, it seems to have been considered a prime duty of the state to support the wife and dependents of soldiers dying young while on duty. The Vasistha-Samhita (XIX, 20) prescribes the rule that "the wives (of slain soldiers) should be provided for. Kautilya (Bk. V. ch. 3) says the same thing though in more general terms. "The sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons, or diseased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour. On occasions of funerals, sickness, or child-birth, the king shall give presentations to his servants concerned therein". In the Niti-vakyamrta (ch. 30) it is stated that "the king incurs a debt if he does not maintain the relations of an officer, who has died in the service of the state. The Garra[illegible] Plates of the Candella Trailokyavarman, dated 1261 v.s.= 1205-6 A.D., show that occasionally land-grants were made for the maintenance of the dependents of slain soldiers. They record the grant of two villages by king Trailokyavarman for the maintenance of a person whose father had been killed in a battle with the Turks. It is expressly stated in the plates that the grant was made "by way of maintenance for the heirs of one who

suffered death on the field of battle (Epigraphic Indica: XVI-272).

It may be added that officers and commanders who had won laurels on the battle-field were sometimes rewarded with titles and other marks of distinction. One such mark of distinction was the right of going in public with a special band playing called panca-mahasabda (because it was produced by the five primary musical instruments). Occasionally also high-sounding titles were conferred on a victorious general. The Nilgud Inscription of Taila II (dated saka 904) provides us with an example of this kind. It says that king Tailapadeva, being immensely pleased with the achievements of his general, Sobhanam conferred on the latter a string of titles, such as Neramodeganda the wrestler of mountain strong-holds, the crest-jewel of feudatories, the camps rampart, etc. (Epigraphic Indica: IV,208) In the Yadava kingdom of Deva-giri a special form of confering distinction on a soldier or general was to permit him to accept betel leaf at the royal hands (Rice, Lewis: 1909).

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CHAPTER-V

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CHAPTER-VI

STRATEGICAL AND TACTICAL STUDY OF FAMOUS BATTLES

STRATEGICAL AND TACTICAL STUDY OF CHANDEL'S FAMOUS BATTLES

6. TWILIGHT OF ANCIENT INDIA

6.1: POLITICAL CONDITION

Harsha Vardhana (606-647 A.D.) was the last imperial ruler of Northern and Central India in the ancient period. Kanauj (Kanyakubja), situated in the heart of the Gangetic valley; was his capital. His nearest rival in the south was Pulakesin II (c.610-642) the Chalukya ruler of Maharashtra. He wielded matching imperial power over the territories lying to the south of Narbada. Both of them could not, even collectively, claim paramounting over the whole of the Indian subcontinent. During their times, there flourished about seventy regional rulers whose possessions were either interlocked between the two imperial states or situated along the periphery of their dominions. Some of them of course, acknowledged the supremacy of either of the two monarches.

The exit of Harsha and Pulakesin II closed the era of ancient Indian imperialism. There started a scramble for territorial possessions among their ex-feudatories and other princes, leading to further political disintegration of the country and the spread of near anarchy. Abortive attempts were made by a number of individuals, backed by their respective clans and communities to revive the

us in the so-called 'rajput period' (647-1200) of Indian history. The states were usually identified with their ruling clans, tribes or communities. Beyond the 'home-lands' (used here in a very narrow and parochial sense) of such clans, the frontiers of these states were fluid and their territorial possessions underwent violent fluctuations under stress of continuous fratricidal wars. The frequent changes in the ruling dynasties of princes within the same ruling house, were not conducive to the development of a feeling of loyalty or emotional attachment towards them especially among the large mass of their subjects. In the face of territorial claims and counter-claims of the rival chieftains, 'might' became the 'supreme right' and the 'dispute' as to what was right was decided 'by the arbitrament of war'. A petty principality, on having got an ambitious and capable prince, would throw off the overlordship of its mighty neighbour and, in turn, claim some sort of dominance over the weaker and smaller states. Such claims of paramountcy were seldom well-defined and usually not pushed beyond tolerable limits. The weaker states, therefore, did not always dispute or offer much resistance to the vague imperial claims of their powerful neighbours. The whole process had a demoralising effect on all the rulers, big or small There was no military power in the country strong enough to keep the warring princes in check and coordinate their activities against foreign aggression.

A brief description of these regional states and their prominent rulers on the eve of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni may be given.

6.1:I-a: Northwestern India : Afghanistan and Punjab: Modern Afghanistan (Asuakayana (Sanskrit) Assakenoi (Greek)) was a part of ancient India; the afghans belonged to the pale of Indo-Aryan civilisation (C.P. Tale: 1973). In the eighth century, the country was known by two regional names- Kabul and Zabul. The northern part, called Kabul (or Kabulistan) was governed by a Buddhist dynasty. Its capital and the river on the banks of which it was situated, also bore the same name. Lalliya (E.C. Sachan: 1964), a Brahmin minister of the last Buddhist ruler Lagaturman, deposed his master and laid the foundation of the Hindushahi dynasty (Yogendra Mishra: 1912), in c. 865. Zabul (or Zabulistan), the southern region of modern Afghanistan, was then ruled by the Rajputs of the Bhatti clan probably.

The word 'afghan' is Persian in origin; it means 'to cry'. The term originated according to Akhund Derveza, a learned afghan saint of Akbar's reign, in the first battle (986-87) of Sabuktagin with Jaipal, the Hindushahi ruler of Kabul. When the encounter took place, the Hindu soldiers raised such a loud noise that they non-plussed the army of Sabuktagin and gained the appellation of 'afghan' from the latter. It is said that besides warfare, even otherwise, the same rehearsal of fierce and piercing shriek in chorus was made by the Hindu soldiers of Kabul amid singing and dancing in feasts (Mohammad Hosain Khan: 1937). The term 'afghan' finds mention for the first time in the chronicles of the eleventh century when the entire valley of Kabul had passed under the rule of the dynasty founded by Sabuktagin.

The Muslim arms penetrated into Afghanistan under the Arab leader Yaqub ibn Lais, the founder of Saffarid dynasty. He conquered Siestan, Herat and Zabulistan during 867-70. The fort of Kabul was wrested by him from Lalliya in 870-71, though the main valley of Kabul was held firmly under their control by the Hindushahis. Yakub is said to have laid the foundation of Ghazni by building a fort there, Alptagin was the first turkish general who conquered Ghazni from the last Arab chief Abu Bakr Lawik in C. 962.

The boundaries of the Hindushahi kingdom stretched from the river Chenab in Punjab to the Hindukush. Its rulers acted as a bulwark against the Arab and Turkish onslaught on their western borders for a long time. Under constant pressure from the Muslim invaders, they were, however, compelled to remove their capital to the east of Khyber pass at Udabhandapur or Waihand (Sachan, E.C.: 1964), on the western bank of the Indus near Attock on the ancient highway from Peshawar to Lahore in about 995. Jaipal, the king of Waihand, was a contemporary of Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud, the turkish rulers of Ghazni Jaipal and his family bore the brunt of turkish invasions from 997 to 1021.

Sind and Multan: The lower Indus valley, to the south of Multan and including Sind and Mekran, comprised an independent kingdom during the times of Harsha. It was ruled by a sudra dynasty. Its ruler Sahiras, a contemporary of Harsha, was killed

by the Persian invaders. His son and successor Rai Sahasi II had a brahman minister, called Chach. On the death of his master, Chach usurped the throne and married the widowed queen. The majority of his subjects were Jats by race and Buddhist by faith. The new ruling dynasty was, therefore, 'alien' both in race and religion. Its rule was oppressive and hence unpopular. Dahir, a son of Chach, ascended the throne in c. 708. He faced the Arab invasion of Sind in 711-12 and perished with family in the struggle.

Kashmir: The Himalayan valley of Kashmir constituted a part of Mauryan and Kushana empires. During Harsha's reign, it was ruled by Karkota dynasty (C. 627-855), founded by Durlabha Vardhan, a Kashmiri Brahman. The kingdom underwent a few dynastic changes but all through it remianed under the control of brahmans till the fourteenth century. Being surrounded by huge mountains and isolated from the plains, it did not play any significant role in the country's politics. On the eve of Mahmud's invasions, it was ruled by a notorious lady, queen Didda (History & Culture of the Indian People: 1963). On her death in 1003, her brother Sangramraja, son of king Udyaraja of Lohara (Lohkot, mod. Lohrin in the territory of Poonch), laid the foundation of a new dynasty known after Lohara. It produced a number of powerful and capable rulers who foiled all attempts of the Muslim invaders to establish their foothold in the valley during the next three centuries.

Thanesar: Most probably, Thanesar, constituted an Indepencent principality in the beginning of the eleventh century. Having been the ancestral estate of Harsha. Vardhana, it might have retained its separate identity long after his fall. Firishta's statement that Thanesar was included in the kingdom of Delhi is wrong; Delhi had not yet come into prominence in the firs t quarter of the eleventh century. Alberuni has mentioned Thanesar but not Delhi in his geographical chapter of Tarikhul Hind.

6.1-I-(b) Eastern India :

Bengal: It constituted the hub of Mauryan and Gupta empires but fell out of the imperial fold on the decline of the latter. It saw a brief rise and fall of two regionalkingdoms- that of Gaud in the northwest, and Venga in the central and eastern parts. In the ninth century, Copal laid the foundation of the Pala dynasty in Bengal (R.D. Banerji: 1973) Its rulers extended their control over the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Under the weak successors of Devapala (833-78), the kingdom declined but its fortunes were restored to some extent by Mahipala I (988-1038). When mahmud was trampling northern India under his feet, Bengal was invaded by Rajendra Chola, the tamil ruler of the south. The political and military condition of Bengal was deplorable but it escaped destruction at the hands of Mahmud because of its long distance from the north-west frontier.

Assam: The Brahmaputra valley in Assam, known as Kamrup (Kamarupa) in ancient times, had been under the control of a

Brahman family since ages. Its rulers had been the feudatories of imperial Guptas. King Bhaskarvarman of Kamrup was a vassal of Harsha Vardhana. After the latter's death, Kamrup secured the independence under its hereditary Chieftains. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Brahmapala ruled Kamrup with his capital at Durjaya (mod. Gauhati). He and his successors safegurded their independence against the repeated attacks of Yadavas of estern Bengal and other adversaries.

Apart from Kamrup, another regional kingdom was in existence in the lower valley of Brahmaputa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Its capital was Srihatta or modern Sylhet.

Nepal: The valley of Nepal constituted a part of the Mauryan and Gupta empires. After the disintegration of the Gupta empires it got its local rulers in the fifth century. A Rajput chief, Raghudeva established his rule in Nepal and laid the foundation of Thakuri dynasty in 879 and commemorated the event by starting a Nepali era (Tapa, Netra B.: 1973). One of his successors, Gunakamdeva (949-94) is said to have founded a new town named Kantipur (mod. Kathmandu) at the confluence of Bagmati and Vishnupati rivers. He was succeeded by Bhoideva (994-1023) (Tapa, Netra B.: 1973). Because of its isolation from the plains it remained aloof from the political upheavals of the country over the centuries.

6.1:I-(c) Central and Western India : The four clans of Chauhans occupied a premier position among the ruling chiefs

of central and western India. They were foreign immigrants who became Indianised and were included in the fold of Hinduism.

The Pratihars belonged to the gurjara tribes. It is said that one of their ancestors had once served the Rasthrakutas (753-973) as a doorkeeper (pratihara). They set up a couple of independent principalities in Rajputana and Malwa and, ultimately, came to acquire Kanauj as well.

The Parmars were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratiharas at one time. They set up an independent kingdom at Dhar (Ujjain) The Parmar ruler Bhoja (K.C. Jain: 1972) was famous for his military provess, scholarship and patronage of art and literature. He was known to the muslim chroniclers as Parmardeo, 'one of the greatest kings of Hindustan'. When he heard of Mahmud's invasion of Somnath (1025-26) he marched out of his capital with a huge force to intercept the invader. Mahmud also got wind of it and rushed back to Ghazni along the extreme western route to avoid clash with the rajput forces.

The Chalukya Rajputs had provided two major dynasties to south India since the sixth century- the Early Chalukyas of Vatapi (C. 550-753) and the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani (founded, 973 A.D.). Yet another Chalukya chief, Mulraja (960-95) set up as an independent ruler at Ahhilwara (Anahitapataka). He entered into an ugly conflict with the Parmars of Malwa which proved harmful to both in the long run. Durlabharaja Chalukya (1000-21) was

Kshatriyas or aboriginal Indian tribes.

a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni. On his death, his nephew Bhimdeo ascended the throne of Anhilwara. When Mahmud invaded Somnath, he fled the capital and took shelter in a fortress in the Rann of Kutch.

A Chauhan (chahamana) chief Samanta, founded the kingdom of Sambhar, around modern Ajmer, in the eighth century. He became famous by offering strong resistance to the arab invaders from Sind (C. 750). In the beginning of the eleventh century, the town of Ajmer had not yet been founded nor Delhi shot into prominence as a political entity. Like the Hindushahis of north-western India, the Chauhans of Śambhar (later Ajmer) stood forth as a bulwark against the penetration of Muslims into the heart of India and maintained the struggle 'with great vigour and obstinacy'.

Sambhar was ruled by Govindraja II, nicknamed Gandu, son of Durlabhraja, at the dawn of the eleventh century (History and culture of the Indian people: 1963). He and his successor Vakpati II (C. 1003-33) were contemporaries of Mahmud of Ghazni but do not seem to have come into direct clash with the latter. Mahmud did not reach Sambhar, the then Chauhan capital, during his plundering raids. It is, however, probable that they had supplied troops to the Hindushahi rulers to fight the turks on two different occasions.

Some rajput clans were direct descendants of ancient kshatriyas or aboriginal Indian tribes.

The Chandel principality of Jaijakbhukti (mod. Bundelkand) was founded by Nanak, a scion of the Gonds, in the ninth century. He was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj, his successors became independent in the first half of the tenth century. His son and successor Yasovarman, born of his Chauhan queen, captured Kalinjar, Yasovarman was succeeded by Dhangaraja on the throne of Kalinjar; he sent a contingent to Peshawar to support Jaipal against Sabuktagin (1000-01). He spent a lot of money to get two Shiva temples constructed at Khajuraho. His son and successor Gandaraja (1018-22) and the latter's eldest son Vidyadhara fought Mahmud of Ghazni.

Arjuna, the Kachchapaghata (later Kachhwaha) chief of Gwalior, was a feudatory of the Chandels of Kalinjar. He also fought against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1022-23.

The Kalachuris of Dahala or chedi (Madhya Pradesh) were pure Kshatriyas. They belonged to the lunar race, and were orthodox hindus. Subsequently, they established theif capital at Tripura (or Tripuri) near Jubbulpore. It was ruled by Gangeya in the beginning of the eleventh century. He exapnded his kingdom at the cost of the Gurjara-Pratihara neighbours. Banaras was included in the Kalachuri dominions. The turkish invaders under Mahmud did not reach Gangeya's territories.

The guhilot or guhila rajput chief Bappa Rawal had set up a small kingdom in Mewar. Its ranas did not attempt to expand

Kirtivarman in 753 and laid the foundation of Rashtrakuta supremacy in the Deccan. This dynasty produced a number of capable

their dominions at the cost of their neighbours but, at the same time, zealously safeguarded their own independence. The kingdom of Mewar was neither very powerful nor rich but its rulers played a glorious role in the medieval Indian history as patriots, the defenders of their independence and self-respect.

6.1.I-(d) Southern India : Pulakesin II (C. 610-42), the imperial ruler of the Deccan (Dakshinpatha or the Deccan was the name given to the northern most part of south Indian peninsula; It comprised the land between the Vindhya mountains and the Gungbhadra river) belonged to the Early Chalukya or Solanki dynasty of Vatapi (mod. Badami, near Bijapur). It had risen into prominence about the middle of the sixth century. The Chalukyas constituted a part of the gurjara immigrants from central Asia who were Indianised, and became famous as one of the four agnikula rajput clans. The dynasty was founded by Jayasimha. His successors expanded their possessions into a mighty empire. Incidentally, Pulakesin II, the contemporary of Harsha Vardhana in the north, also prove to be the last imperial ruler of his dynasty. He was defeated and killed at the hands of Narasimha, the Pallava ruler of Kanchi. Pulakesin's successors, however, continued to rule for another century, when they were liquidated and supplanted by the Rashtrakutas.

The Rashtrakutas were once the feudatories of the Early Chalukyas. Their chief Dandivarman defeated his suzerain Kirtivarman in 753 and laid the foundation of Rashtrakuta supremacy in the Deccan. This dynasty produced a number of capable

rulers. The last Rashtrakuta king Kakka II was overthrown by Tailapa (973 A.D.), the founder of the new Chalukya dynasty, known to history as the Later Chalukyas. Their capital was Kalyani in modern Andhra Pradesh. Tailapa fought successful wars against the Chalukyas of Anhilwara, the Parmars of Malwa, the Kalachuris of Chedi and the Cholas in the south; he ruled upto 1017 A.D.

The Cholas constituted the second greatest kingdom in the south at the dawn of the eleventh century (R.G. Bhandarkar: 1957 & M.N. Venkata Sarmanappa: 1976). They became prominent towards the close of the ninth century. Originally, the three tamil states of the far-south- the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas, belonged to the pre-christian era. They maintained their separate entities even during the days of the Mauryan imperialism. Later on, they came to be dominated by the Andhras and then by the Pallavas. Towards the close of the ninth century, the Cholas established their hegemony over the Pallavas. Rairaja I (985-1012) laid the foundation of the imperial Chola empire by his extensive conquests. His empire included Kalinga (mod. Orissa) in the north and Ceylon in the south. Tanjore was his capital. His son and successor Rajindra Chola I (C. 1012-42) consolidated the empire carved out by his father and further expanded it. He was the greates Indian ruler of his times. While the turks under Mahmud of Ghazni were defeating and humiliating the mighty Hindu rulers of northern India, a bitter struggle was going on between the Later Chalukyas and the Cholas for the domination of the south.

They seemed to have been least bothered about the happenings in the north.

6.1:I-(e) Political Condition of Northern India : A survey of the political condition of Northern India during the beginning of the 9th century A.D. reveals the utter instability that was prevailing in the region due to the continued struggle for supremacy between the three contemporary powers- the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the Rastrakutas and the Palas of Bengal (H.C. Ray: 1931). During these troublesome days it might have been possible for a local tribal leader in the Bundelkhand region to establish an independent chiefship, not necessarily owing allegiance to any suzerain power. It need not be supposed that the Candellas during this period wrested Mahoba region from the Parihars, as suggested by Smith. In fact, there is no positive evidence of any direct conflict between early Candellas and the Gurjara-Pratiharas. It may be assumed that Nannuka, the leader of a local tribe, found a suitable opportunity in the prevailing circumstances to organise it on a military basis, and that it was under his leadership that the nucleus of the Candella State was founded in the region, which later came to be known as Jejabhukti or Jejakabhukti (Mahoba Inscription, Epigraphic Indica: I, p. 221). As the Pratiharas were preoccupied with deadly struggles against their powerful enemies, it may have been possible for the Candellas to lay the foundation of their chiefship.

But the picture of the Pratihara power, as drawn by Dr. Ray, seems to be, I am afraid, a little exaggerated. The

Gurjara-Pratihara power did not rise to its height even by the end of Nagabhata II's reign. Dr. R.C. Majumdar (1941) thinks that the evidence of the Jain text Prabhavaka Carita, connecting Kanauj with Nagabhata II, is not reliable. Thus Kanauj may not have formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihara dominion even during Nagabhata II's time, i.e., 833 A.D. He was followed by Ramabhadra (833-36 A.D.) on the Pratihar throne, who again was a weak ruler. Down to about the middle of the 9th century A.D. the Palas were still a considerable power in Northern India. If all these circumstances are taken into account it does not become necessary to presume that the Candellas could not have existed execept as a feudatory to the Pratiharas.

In V. 13 of the Khajuraho Inscription of V.S. 1011, however, it is stated that the Vindhyas became the pleasure-mount (Krida-giri) of Vakpati, where he was entertained by the Kirata women. Dr. H.C. Ray (1931) concludes from it that Vakpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality. He has not however specified the extent of this increased power. There were hills connected with the Vindhyas in the territory which later came to be known as Jejaka-bhukti. It is quite probable that some of these ranges may have been meant, and comprised in the territory originally held by the Candellas. The passage need not necessarily be taken as indicating any definite advance of territorial power without concrete details.

Vakpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti, both of whom appear to have been closely associated in the task of consolidating their political status. In connection with Vijaya-

sakti, it may be observed that he is described as having carried on expeditions to the far south to help the cause of an ally. Suhrd-upakrti-dakso daksinasam jigisuh.

punaradhita payodher-bandha vaidhuyamaryah/v.20 (Epigraphic Indica: 141-142).

If Jayasakti and Vijayasakti were feudatories to the Pratiharas, then to whom should this epithet 'suhrd' be applied? It would not be an appropriate epithet for a Gurjara-Pratihara king, if he was their overlord. Further, nothing is known about any expedition of the Pratiharas to the extreme south of India, in which they may have been helped by the Candellas. R.C. Majumdar (1941) thinks that the Candella Chief, Vijayasakti might have helped Devapala in the latter's southern expedition, and earlier Vakpati might have similarly been associated with Devapala in his exploits in the Vindhya region. If this view is accepted it will appear that the Candellas were free to help other powers, such as the Palas, who were the bitter enemies of the Pratiharas. If the Candellas were really feudatories to the Gurjara Pratiharas, as supposed by some scholars, it would have been unusual for them to do so. Thus it appears that the feudatory status of the Candellas in relation to the Gurjara-Pratiharas during the early stages of their history, is not clearly established.

Dr. Majumdar suggests that the Candellas had helped Devapala in his fights against Bhoja (Pratihara) and were rewarded, after the latter's defeat, with the sovereignty of the territory

near Khajuraho, perhaps under the suzerainty of Devapala. In the absence of positive evidence, I am afraid, it is difficult to accept the view that the early Candella rulers were feudatories of the Palas of Bengal (R.C. Majumdar: 1941).

The Candella ruler, Yasovarman, however, was a feudatory of the Pratiharas. Before him Harsa had helped the Gurjara-Pratiharas, possibly in a domestic strife. There is no definite indication of his status in relation to the Gurjara-Pratiharas. When, then, did the Candellas first accept the position of a feudatory to the Pratiharas.

From about the middle of the 9th century A.D., there was a progressive weakening of the Pala power (R.C. Majumdar: 1941) and a temporary cessation of the Rastrakuta attacks. The Candellas in all probability, may have accepted the suzerainty of the Pratiharas during this time, as no other power was stronger than the Pratiharas in Northern India then. By doing so they gained for themselves a recognised political status, though it was that of a feudatory. Jayasakti's importance in the family is indicated in the statement found in its records that Jeja gave his name of Jejabhukti as Prthu did to Prthivi.

Jejakhyayatha nrpatih sa babhu a Jejabhuktih
Prthoriva yatah Prthiviyamm-asit.
(Mahoba Inscription)

Further it may also be observed that the later Candella rulers generally invoke Jayasakti and his brother, Vijayasakti

as the early ancestors of the family in the opening verse of their records.

Jayatyahladayan-visvam Visvesvara-siroddhrtah
Candratreya narendranam vamsascandra iv-ojjalah
Tatra pravarddhamane virodhi vijaya bhrajisnu
Jayasakti-Vijayasaktyadi-viravirbhava bhasvare
(Indian Antiquory, IX, 281)

The importance appears to have been due to the fact that he (Jayasakti), by submitting to the overlordship of the Pratiharas, the greatest power in Northern India in his time, was able to win a recognised status for his family. But this must have happened sometime after Vijayasakti's expedition to the south, when he might have been assisting the Palas as suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

Nannuka founded the nucleus of the Candella dominion, but he was a tribal chief only. For about fifty years the Candellas profited by the political disturbances in which other powers were seriously involved. Afterwards when the superiority of the Pratiharas was firmly established they submitted to their overlordship, as there was no other alternative.

Rahila, the son of Vijayasakti, is mentioned in two of the Khajuraho Records. He is, however, only vaguely eulogised as a great warrior- 'never tired at the sacrifice of battle (Epigraphic Indica, I, V. 17, p. 131), and 'thinking of whom the enemies enjoy little sleep at night' (nidra daridratam yanti

yam vicintya nisi dvisam (Epigraphic India:,v. 16).

Pahila undertook works of public interest, viz., excavation of tanks and lakes and construction of temples, remnants of which are still visible at. Ajaygardh and Mahoba. At Ajaygadh a temple bears some stones inscribed with his name (Archaeological Survey Report: vii, p. 41), and an old lake with a fine cruciform granite temple on its bank, near Mahoba, is still called 'Rahilya Sagar' after his name (J.A.S.B.: 1881). The traditional account of the Parmal Raso, ascribes to him the construction of the township of Pasau (Parmal Raso, V.88, p.27) which is now identifiable with a village of the same name in the Pargana Badausa, 20 miles north-east of Kalanjar, where A. Cadell noticed some old fortifications and a temple of the usual Candella type (J.A.S.B.: 1881).

It was during the time of Harsa, who succeeded Pahila, that the Candellas appear to have made a steady progress towards the attainment of a significant status in the political history of Northern India. Their position seems to have been greatly strengthened by matrimonial alliances with other contemporary powers. Khajuraho Records eloquently refer to the marriage between Harsa and Kanchuka of the Cahamana dynasty (Canamana kulodbhavam). The Beneres Grant of Laksmi-Karna (Kalacuri) alludes to the marriage of the Kalacuri king Kikkalla I with Natta or Nattakhyadevi, a princess of the Candella lineage. As Harsa, mentioned in the same record, is identical with Candella

Harsa, Natta was possibly related to him. The Kalacuris appreciate this marriage as an ideal one like the celestial unions of Saci with Indra, Kamala with Upendra, and Uma with Candramauli.

An additional indication of friendly relations between the Kalacuris and the Candellas during this time is furnished by the same record, which states that Harsa, along with three other rulers including Bhoja II of the Pratihara dynasty and Vallabharaja (i.e. Rastrakuta Krsna II) had been granted freedom from fear by the Kalacuri king Kokkala (c. 875-925 A.D.). It seems that Kokkala assured Harsa of his intention not to injure the interest of the Candellas, and at the same time to secure indirectly protection for them by allying himself both with the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Rastrakutas, who had been bitterly opposed to each other for a long period.

It is, however, well-known that the hostilities between the Pratiharas and the Rastrakutas took a serious turn after 915 A.D., when Indra III sacked even the Imperial city of Mahodaya (kanauj). But the Gurjara Pratiharas were able to recover substantial portion of their dominions after the death of Indra III. Ksitipala (Mahipala) in his attempt to rebuild the Pratihara power, was aided by some of his feudatories including the Candellas. The Chatsu Stone Inscription refers to an expedition of conquest led by the Guhilot prince, Bhatta, against the kings of the south, evidently the Rastrakutas, at the behest of his overlord, generally identified with the Pratihara ruler, Mahipala. The Khajuraho

Inscription similarly claims for Candella Harsa the unique distinction of restoring Ksitipaladeva on the throne. It is therefore quite reasonable to believe that the Candella king Harsa by his successful intervention in the affairs of the suzerain power enhanced his status in contemporary politics, which, as pointed out by Dr. H.C. Ray (1931) in the end proved fatal to it (the Imperial Pratiharas). An almost similar situation developed in the history of Bengal in the latter half of the 11th century A.D., when Ramapala secured the help and cooperation of his 'Samanta-cakra' (feudatory powers) to recover 'Varendri' (North Bengal) from the clutches of his enemy (B.C. Sen: 1941).

The allusion to this important political incident in the Khajuraho record is a clear indication of the growing power of the Candellas. It provides the missing link to the circumstances that led to the rise of the Candellas as an independent power free from political subservience to the Pratiharas. Henceforth the Candellas retain only a nominal show of allegiance to their overlord, which continued till the days of Yasovarman.

6.2 ELEMENTARY TACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF ARMY IN THE FIELD

6.2:1: Importance of Position: Ancient military opinion appears to have attached great importance to the position of an army in the theatre of war. A pre-Kautilyan teacher stresses the importance of position by means of the following homely analogy.

"A dog seated in a convenient place may drag a crocodile, and and a crocodile seated in a low ground can drag a dog (Kautilya Arthasastra, Bk. IX. ch. I). In the Arthasastra (Bk. X. ch. 4), Kautilya says: "Favourable positions for infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants are desirable both for war and camp. For men who are trained to fight in descert tracts, forests, valleys, or plains, and for those who are trained to fight from ditches or heights, during the day or night, and for elep ants which are bred in countries with rivers, mountains, marshy lands, or lakes, as well as for horses, such battle-fields as they should find suitable are to be selected". It is thus evident that according to Kautilya the primary consideration which should weigh with a general in selecting a position must be the character and composition of his forces. It was universally recognised that the different arms required different grounds forthe proper discharge of their functions (Santiparva 100, 21,23; Ag.P. 242, 30; Kam. XX, 10ff.) A commandar was expected to keep this fact persistently in view, and dispose troops in harmony with the ground on which they were to act. In another context, however, Kautilya says: "That part of the country in which his army finds a convenient place for its manoeuvres and which proves unfavourable to his for is the best; that part of the country which is of the reverse nature is the worst; and that which partakes of both the characteristics is a country of middling quality (Kautilya Arthasastra, Bk: IX. ch. I). In other words, the amount of advantage which a position offered to the belligerent was to be

the sole criterion of its merit or demerit. A general command must have the military insight to recognise whether a particular position would be advantageous for the evolution and manoeure of his troops.

5.2:2: Battle-orders : When two hostile armies faced each other, and conflict was imminent, it was the usual practice to draw them up in battle-orders (Kamandaka, XIX-441). The term for battle-order in Sanskrit in vyuha; and the ranging of an army in battle-array was one of the essential qualifications of the commander-in-chief. Battle-orders were many and various, and they have been dwelt upon at considerable length in all ancient texts on war.

The testimony of military writers reveals three stages of tactical evolution among the ancient Hindus. The first stage is probably represented by the code of Usanas, according to whom an array should consist of three divisions, viz. wings (paksau), vangaurd (urasyam) and rear-guard (pratigraha). The next stage is marked by the code of Brhaspati, who added flanks (kaksau) to the above list (Kutilya, Bk. X. 6). In later works like the Kamandakiya (XX, 30), the Agni Purana (241, 41-2), and the Niti-prakasika (VI, II) a battle-order has been described as consisting of seven divisions (saptanga), viz. wings, flanks, vanguard, centre (Madhya), rear-centre (prstha), rear-guard and koti.

[illegible] three different arrays made and perfected into the composite

Descriptions of battle-orders occur in the Mahabharata, the Arthasastra of Kautilya, and later manuals on niti and Dhanurveda. For instance, we are told in the Mahabharat, that on the first day of the war, the Pandus arrayed their troops in a "needle-shaped" (suci) order, and on the day following in the form of a 'heron' (Kraunca or krauncaruna). On the third day Bhisma led off with a 'rhomboid' (garuda) array., while the Pandus drew up an order in the shape of a crescent. On the fifth day we have the 'hawk' (syena) array on the Pandu side, and the 'crocodile' (makara) that of the Kurus. On the seventh day Bhisma, 'skilled in battle-orders' drew up a 'circular' (mandala) array, while the Pandu king formed the 'thunderbolt' (vajra). The day following Bhisma drew up an array 'like the sea'; and to meet it the Pandu commander was ordered by the king to array his hosts in the srngataka' order. On the next day, Bhisma disposed his troops in the 'sarvatobhadra' array, the Pandus too formed a strong counter-array, but it is not given any name. The most ponderous of all arrays, however, came on the fourteenth day. Drona formed an array, half of which was in the shape of a 'wagon' (sakata), and the other half in that of a 'lotus' (padma). The 'wagon' extended over twelve gavyutis in length and covered the front, while the 'lotus' forming the rear was five gavyutis deep. And within the 'lotus' was formed another solid array called the 'needle' 'suci). In other words, the 'lotus' at the back of the 'wagon' served as an enclosure for the 'needle'. We have thus three different arrays made and perfected into one composite

master-array. On all other days we have either no names for the arrays formed, or mere repetitions of the orders previously devised on one side or the other (Mahabharata: 1919).

When we come to study the details of these epic battle-orders, we find ourselves on more shaky ground. The poet here seems to give free scope to his fancy; and the metaphors used in the names of the 'orders' are usually kept up in the narration of the details. Let us, for instance, take the case of the 'rhomboid' (garuda) array formed by Bhisma on the third day of battle. The commander, we are told, was on the 'beak' (tunde), two chiefs on the head (sirsam), two more made the 'eyes' (caksusi) others were on the neck' (griva) and still others in the rear (prstha), tail (puccha), right wing (daksinam paksam) and left flank (vamam parsvam). Similarly the 'hawk' array formed by the Pandus on the fifth day had the following parts: face (Mukha), eyes head, neck, wing and rear. In the same way, the sixth day's crocodile' array had its head, eyes, mouth, neck, back, feet and tail. Similar details are repeated in connection with the orders (Bhismaparva, 51, 1, 69.7, 75-4, 87-18).

We get, however, a more rational discussion about battle-orders in the Arthasastra of Kautilya and post-Kautilyan texts on war. Broadly speasking, battle-orders are divided under four main heads, viz. danda (staff), bhoga (snake), madala (circle), and asamhata (detached order). Each of these, again, is subdivided into several varieties. Thus the danda comprised seventeen, the bhoga five, the mandala two, and the asamhata six varieities of

arrays. But apart from these, there were various other arrays known (Kautilya Arth. Bk. x. ch.6).

Usanas and Brhaspati defined a danda (staff) as an array in which the troops stationed in the different divisions were arranged in curved lines or columns. According to Kautilya, however, it meant a kind of battle-order in which the wings, flanks and vanguard of the army were maintained in equal strength. The seventeen varieties of this order were as follows.

"A dandavyuha is called pradara (breaking the enemy's army) when its flanks are made to project in front. It is, again known as drdhaka (firm) when its wings are stretched back. It is called asahya (irresistible) when its wings are stretched forward towards the enemy. When after the formation of the wings, the front is made to bulge out, it is called syena (hawk). These four varieties are called capa (bow), capakuksi (the centre of the bow), pratishha (hold) and supratistha (a stronghold) respectively when they are arranged in the reverse order. That variety of the dandavyuha in which the wings are arranged in the shape of a bow is called sanjaya (victory). The same with a projected front is called vijaya. The array which has its wings drawn up in the shape of a flat ear is called sthulakarna; the array in which the wings are made twice as flat as those of a vijaya is known as visalavijaya (great victory); that in which the flanks and the vanguard are stretched towards the wings is called camumukha; and the same is called ihasahya when it is arrayed in the reverse form. That variety of dauda in which the troops are made to stand one behind another, is called sucimukha (needle-

called valaya; and when of four lines, it is called durjaya (invincible) (Kamandaka, xx-55: 1912).

According to Usanas and Brhaspati, the bhoga meant a battle-order in whichthe troops in the different divisions were arrayed in one continuous chain. Kautilya says, however, that the chief distinctive feature of this battle-order was the fact that its wings, flanks and front were of unequal depth. The five varieties of this order were: sarpasuri (which has a serpentine movement), gomutrika (course of a cow's urine), sakata (wagon), makara (crocodile) and paripatantaka. Some of these have been defined. Thus the 'wagon' is explained as 'that variety of bhoga in which the front is divided into two parts, and the wings are arranged in the form of staffs". The reverse of this is described as the 'crocodile' array. The paripatantaka, again, is said to have been a variety of the 'wagon', having in its columns a large number of elephants, horses and chariots (Kamandaka: 1912, xx, 46-49).

The mandala (circular array) has been defined as a battle-order in which the wings, flanks and front stood in close proximity to one another, without having any intermediate space between them. Its two varieties were known as sarvatobhadra and durjaya. When the battle-order was so arranged as to face in all directions, it was called sarvatobhadra. When, again, though having the flanks as usual, its front was split up into two halves and the wings into four, it was termed durjaya (Kautilya Arth. Bk. x, ch.6).

The asamhata has been explained as an array in which the wings, flanks and front were stationed apart from each other. The six varieties of this order were known as the 'thunderbolt' (vajra), 'alligator' (godha), 'park' (udyanaka), 'crow-footed' (kakapadi), 'crescent' (artha-candrika), and karkata-srngi (Kamandaka, xx-51: 1912).

Besides the above, battle-orders might be formed in various other ways. In the Arthasastra (Bk. x, ch. 6), Kautilya writes: "The array in which the chariots form the front, the elephants the wings, and horses the rear, is called arista; that in which infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants stand one behind the other is called acala; that in which elephants, horses, chariots and infantry stand in order one behind the other is known as apratihata. When, again, the wings were occupied by elephants, the flanks by horses, and the front by war-cars, it was called a cakra (wheel) array. When the front was occupied by elephants, the flanks by chariots and the wings by horses, it was known as a madhya-bhedi array. There was also what has been described as an antarbhedi array. In this the flanks were occupied by elephants, the wings by chariots and the front by cavalry (Kautilya Arth. Bk. X, ch. 5).

It is needless to expand the list further. From the foregoing enumeration it is clear that the disposition of troops on the battle-field might in fact take any form or shape. The nature of the battle-order to be adopted by a general on any

particular occasion was determined by various considerations. In the first place, the composition of the forces at his disposal was a factor to reckon with. A second determining factor was the character of the theatre of operations. Kautilya says: "The even, uneven and complex nature of the ground in the front or on the sides or in the rear should be examined. On an even site the danda and the mandala array should be formed; on an uneven ground bhoga and asamhata arrays should be made; and on a site of a complex nature, the battle-order should be of the visama type. We have a re-iteration of the same view in the later Sukraniti, where the author maintains that "the ruler should devise one, two or more of these vyuhas or a mixture of them according to the number of troops and the character of roads and battle-fields (Sukraniti, ch. IV, sec. vii-ii, 566-67). The third factor which decided the nature of the array was the strenghth and character of the enemy's battle-order. "One should", says Kautilya, "assail the pradara by means of the capa, pratistha by means of the supratistha, sanjaya by means of the vijaya, sthulakarna by means of the visala-vijaya, and paripatantaka by means of the sarvatobhadra. One may assail all kinds of arrays by means of the durjaya (Kautilya Arth., Bk. X, ch. 6). In several texts, again, it is enjoined that a large force, fighting against a small one, should be arrayed in extended lines, but a small force, in order to compete with a large one, should charge in one long narrow column, concentrating all its strength at one point (Manusmrti, vii-191).

Besides the formation of battle-orders, ancient writers provide us with a few other details regarding the disposition of

the army on the field of battle. It is stated, for instance, in the Arthasastra (Bk. x, ch. 3) that foot-soldiers should be so arrayed that the space between any two men might be equivalent to one sama (fourteen finger-breadths); horses should be arrayed with three samas (two and one-third feet) as the intervening space; while chariots and elephants should be stationed five samas (three and eight-ninth feet) apart. In more extended arrays, however, the intervening space between any two individuals should be doubled or trebled. When the army consisted of a large contingent of archers, the rules appear to have been slightly different. Thus the space intervening between any two bowmen was to be equivalent to a dhanus (five cubits), that between horses fifteen cubits, and that between war-cars and war-elephants twenty-five cubits. This increase in space was probably necessitated by the fact that archers required more room for the effective use of their weapons. With regard to the different divisions of an array, Kautilya holds that in ordinary circumstances they should be ranged twenty-five cubits apart from each other. The Agni Purana (236, 35) maintains that care should be taken in every case to provide ample space for the free movement of the different divisions, and that neither en masse nor individually should the troops be inconveniently crowded.

Qualitatively, troops were considered as falling under four classes: viz. saram (best), anusaram (second best), trtiya-saram (third in rank), and phalgu (weak troops). Kautilya lays

it down that in drawing up an array the general should place the weaker troops (phalgu) in the fore-front of each division. Then should come the trtiyasaram, and then the best. The second best (anusaram) is to be placed in the rear line. The reason offered for this arrangement is typically illustrative of the intensely practical nature of Kautilyan military precepts. If the weakest troops be placed in the front line, he argues, the first shock of the enemy's charge would fall upon them, and not a single troop of the better type would perish. When the enemy is thus grappled in an encounter with the riff-raff of the army (phalgu-bala), the general should manoeuvre his best troops, swoop down upon the enemy and annihilate him (Kautilaya Arth. Bk. X, ch. 5). This was also the advice of later writers like Kamandaka (IX, 34) and Somesvara (Manas. vv. 189-191). The Agni Purana emphatically (236, 41-42) maintains that weak troops should never be placed in the van, for when attacked they would easily give in and thus create confusion in the rest of the army. On the other hand, if brave troops be placed in the front line, their example would serve as an inspiration to the weaker troops in the rear.

6.2:3- Conduct of Battles: Though much ingenuity was expended on the formation of battle-arrays, it does not seem that they had any decisive influence on the conduct of battles. The epics give one the impression that after the first plunge into the fight, no order whatever was maintained. "As soon as the armies meet", says Hopkins, "we read that there was complete disorder. period. But it is doubtful whether the description is applicable

This is caused in three ways. The mass is helpless and imbecile left to itself; the knight is reckless and foolhardy. Instead of remaining to attack the division allotted to him at the outset of the day, he rushes about wherever he pleases, and the slightest incident sends him shooting transversely across the field, discomforting his friends almost as much as his foes. The knightly proficiency in 'manoeuvres', either of weapon-skill or of chariot-skill, leads directly to this individual excellence and weakness of the mass. It is a combat of duels and push. Each knight flings himself in front of another, and the two then 'circle', or wheel about each other, in the method admired by the Greek observer, until one is confused or weakened; for the charioteers do the twisting (except incidentally), while the knights have to keep the balance and shoot. As the cars constantly tip over, the shooting must have been as described rather wild. Meanwhile the regiments led by the knights into the field either stand stock-still and look on at the spectacle, or they fling themselves against each other, two unheeded masses, and cutting and chopping each other in a prom-scuous manner, lend their weight against the foe. More than weight we can scarcely call it. No individual common man is important. While this by-play goes on, one knight is slain or flees. Then all his soldiers run away, since they fight not for a cause but for a leader (E.W. Hopkins: 1920)

Nothing could have been a better description of the manner in which battles were conducted in the so-called epic period. But it is doubtful whether the description is applicable

to ancient Indian warfare in general. We have indeed a few accounts of battles in post-epic literature and inscriptions, but as they were written mostly by priests and literary men, without military experience, they appear to follow a conventional standerd. It will, therefore, be risky to make any deduction from these accounts. On the other hand, we have in the Arthasastra and other military texts, a clear enunciation of some fundamental principles of tactics, which perhaps prove that commanders of armies followed some definite plan in conducting a campaign. For instance, it is laid down that when an army is drawn up in battle-order, the general must not move it en masse against the foe but should rather assail the latter with one or two divisions, and when the enemy is thrown into confusion, should follow up the first onset with the remaining divisions (Kautilya Arth. Bk. X, ch. 5). A second principle enunciated is that a commander must begin a battle by striking that portion of the hostile army which is occupied by weak and treacherous troops (Kautilya Arth. Bk. X, ch.3). Thirdly, it is emphasised that he should make a rear-attack on the enemy, when a frontal attack is considered disadvantageous, and a frontal attack under contrary circumstances. Similarly when an attack on one wing or flank is deemed unwise, the other wing or flank may be assailed. Having struck the front of the hostile army, the commander should follow it up by an attack from the rear. He may also strike at the enemy's rear, and then when it has wheeled round, must attack it from the front. Finally it is laid down that a commander must not press hard a weak but

desperate foe, secure in a strong position; for "when a broken army, reckless of life, resumes its attack, its fury becomes irresistible (Kautilya Arth. Bk. X, Ch. 3).

It may be presumed that these and other similar principles of tactics, which we find embodied in ancient military manuals, were not merely reproduced from foreign copy-books, but learnt from the shool of hard experience, and that once learnt they were not easily forgotten. But we have no sufficient data to appraise the extent to which they were a controlling factor in military operations. There is reason to believe, however, that some of the characteristics of epic warfare persisted till almost the close of our period. It is probable, for instance, that to the last a battle was often a 'combat of duels and push; it is certain that there was always an element of single combat in the sense that when the king, who usually commanded in person, fell or fled, his army also fled. Thus, as we have already seen, the fight for Sind in 712 A.D. was decided by the fall of Dahir, the king of the country; while an important victory gained by Sultan Mahmud in 1008 A.D. was due to the flight of the elephant on which his opponent was mounted. To kill, or put to flight, the opposing king was thus the primary object in each battle (Manusmrti, vv.138).

6.3 STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF CHANDELAS

All fighting was done according to certain laid down principles and dharma, the accepted ethical code. The sastras did not allow the liberty of striking 'below the belt'. At timesit was also ensured that if one of the parties having signed a treaty of peace showed signs of infidelity it was to undertake another oath by fire what a contrast to the present day ethical standards where a peace treaty has no value and the document is thrown aside if it suits either party as soon as it is written. In spite of these guiding principles other means were also employed. Warfare could be open-prakasa, treacherous-kuta, silent tusni or by intrigue that is winning over the principal officers of the enemy or killing them by employing spies when there was no talk of war, asura. When wholesale weapons of destruction were used ano daivika in which many a charm were employed. For an open battle the tactics employed were: threatening in one direction, assault in another and destruction of the enemy while he was careless. It was claimed that an arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill even a single man but skilful intrigue could destroy even those who were in the womb. Great stress was laid on obtaining a favourable position for own side at all costs. Even Sun Tzu has emphasised that supreme excellence consisted in breaking the resistance of the enemy without fighting one form of feiut was: make a false impression of defeat by retreating against the enemy who was entrenched and having lured him into

an unfavourable position on own ground of choice launch an attack when frontal attack was considered unfavourable one was required to strike from behind. When attack from the rear was inadvisable one was to strike from the front.

Cutting of the tail or the line of communication and capturing or harrassing the rear forces are some of the time-worn injunctions in strategy. Even a slight annoyance in the rear has its effect and must be pressed home. Constant harrassing by dominating the area between the opposing forces has also paid many a divided. At the present time when the implements of war have be come very advanced, harrassing of the enemy is done by artillary and motor fire at all hours of the day and night, bombing and straffing from the air, constant patrolling deep inside the enemy territory and employment of fifth-columnists.

6.4 GENERAL BATTLE FORMATION OF CHANDELAS

Chandela's Empire's met to our enemies on the plain field or fortified area. At its broadest it was few miles wide and had low hills. Chandella's deployed his army in the form of a Vyuha. He placed his elephants in such a manner so as to form the front of his main defences. These were deployed in some ranks and they were to strike terror in the hearts of the enemy groups. Placed one hundred feet apart theylooked like bastions in a wall formed by the infantry. Some gaps were left at regular intervals

for the infantry to charge throught and at the same time to check the enemy cavalry and infantry from penetrating the defences. The infantry was also projected on both sides and in the rear. The cavalry were deployed on both the flanks. Empire was himself in the centre of this strong formation:(Fig. 6.1)

6.5 CHANDELA'S BATTLES

Chandela's fought more than 26 battle. The list are being given on the next page.

According to list, we describe here only two battle i.e.:

(i) Battle of Kalanjara 1022 A.D.

(ii) Battle of Mahoba 1182-83 A.D.

6.5:1 BATTLE OF KALANJARA (1022 A.D.)

6.5:1-(a) Historical Background: Abdul Qasim Mahmud, the eldest son of Sabuktagin, ascended the throne of Ghazni in 998 A.D. at the age of twenty seven. Within a year, he secured recognition from Al Qadir Billah, the Caliph of Baghdad, as the ruler of Afaghanistan and Khurasan. The latter bestowed on him the titles of Aminul Millat and Yamin-ud Daulah. Mahmud thus came to occupy a status, similar to that of the samanids, his former suzerains, in direct allegiance to the caliph. He was the first muslim ruler to be credited with the title of the

CHANDELA'S BATTLES

Name of Chandela Ruler	Name of Opposite Ruler	Kind of War Attack/ Defence/help	Place	A.D./C	Army	Result
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vijayasakti	Bhoja Pratihara	(1) Expedition (2) help of Devapala Pala Ruler	South Kalanjara	836A.D.	-	Victory
Harsa Vidyadhara	At the time of Rastrakutas Attacks	For the help of Pratihara Ruler Mahipala	-	916-17A.D.	-	-
Yasovarman	Rastrakuta	Occupation of Kalanjara	Kalanjara	953-54	-	Victory
Vijayapala Yasovarman	Gauda	Expedition to Bengal	-	954A.D.	-	Victory
Yasovarman	Mahendrapala	Invasion of Mithila	-	-	-	Victory
Deva Varman Yasovarman	Paramaras & Rastrakuta	Relation with the Malavas	-	-	-	Conflict Relation
Yasovarman	Sivagupta	Invasion of Kosala	-	950A.D.	-	Victory
Yasovarman	Pratihara	Invasion of the Kuru country.	-	-	-	Victory
Dhanga Ganadeva	Gurjara-Pratihar Subuktigin	Conquest of Gwalior help of Jayapala	Gwalior Fort -	977A.D. 977A.D.	- -	Victory Defeat
Vidyadhara Jayavarman I	Rajyapala Pratihara Ruler	War	Kanauj	1018A.D	56000 Cavalry 184000Infantry 746 elephant	)Ibu-)ul-)Ath-ir
					36000 cavalry 145000 Infantry 390 Elephant	Niz-amuddin
					Result	[illegible]

					36000 cavalry)Gard- 145000 infantry)izi 640 Elephant)	
					36000) 45000)Firishta 640)	
					Result	
					Defeat and death of Rajapala	
Vidyadhara	Mahmud	War	Gwalior Fort Kalanjara Forty	1022A.D.	36000cavalry 145000infantry 390 Elephant	Result Tribute
			Allahabad	-	-	Defeated
Vijayapala	Kalacuris-king Gangaeyadeva	War	-	1051A.D.	-	Completely Defeated
Qeva Varman	Kalacuris-king Laksmikarna	War	-	1060-1068A.D.	-	Glorious Victory
Kirttivarman	Kalcuris king Laksmikarna	War	Kalanjara	1075A.D.	-	Victory
	Sultan Ibrahim's Son Mahmud	War	Canga-Jumna Doab	-	-	Victory
Sallaksanavarman	Rashtrakuta Prince Gopala	Conflict	Kirtigiri Durga	-	-	Victory
	Paramaras & Cedis Naravarman & Yasahkarna	Conflict	Chattarpur	1120A.D.	-	Defeat
Jayavarman	Govindacandra Ruler of Gahadavala	Conflict				

Madanaverman	Cedi king Gayakarna	Conflict	Baghelkand	-	-	Victory
	Narasimhadeva	Conflict	Baghelkhand	1158A.D.	-	Defeated
	Kashi-king	Conflict	-	-	-	Victory
	Malawa-king	Conflict	-	-	-	Victory
	Paramara-king	Conflict	-	-	-	Victory
	Govindcandra) Vijayachandra)	Conflict	-	-	-	Victory
Paramardideva	Cahamana ruler Prithviraj-III.	War	Mahoba	1182-83A.D.	20000cavalry 100000infantry 20000under Alha & Udal	Defeat
Rai-Parmar	Kutub-ud-Din	War	Kalanjara	1202 A.D.	Cavlry	Defeat.
Trailokyavarman	Malik Misrat-ud-Din Tayasi	War	Kalanjara	1205A.D.	-	Invade. & destroyed
Viravarman	Sondhi (Royal Family)	Battle	Siondha Fort	1281A.D.	-	Victory
Hammiravarman	Sultan Alauddin	Battle	Damoh, Jubbalpore Kalanjara, Ajaygadh	1208 1309	-	rule over Chandela

Sultan's (A.B.M. Habibullah: 1961). At the time of his investiture by the caliph's plenipotentiary, Mahmud took a vow that he would wage jihad on the Kafirs and organise annual expeditions into India "the land of idolators". He could not undertake this work all at once because of a revolt in Khurasan (998-99). A great warrior and brilliant Military commander, he carved out a vast central Asian empire by conquests, interspersed with his Indian invasions.

Mahmud led seventeen expeditions into India from 1000 to 1027. The number and frequency of these raids throws light on the tirless energy, ambition and fixity of prupse of the invader. He left Ghazni generally at the end of the Indian rainy season, in September-October, and spent the winter here which was not as cold as in Afghanistan. He returned to Ghazni in March-Aprilbefore the beginnings of the next rainy season, laden with every type of booty, inclidding gold, silver, precious stones, horses, elephants, men and women as salves and all that he and his marauders could carry with them. Having acquired full knowledge of the climate and topography of India, he usually tried to avoid the scorching heat of the northern plains, and particularly the rains which blocked the passage of the armies. Obviously, even the shortest of his campaigns has to be indicated by two years of the Christian era.

After the consolidation of his hold over the Ghazni kingdom, Mahmud turned his attention towards the Indian frontier;

He initiated the compaign with the dawn of the eleventh century (1000-01). He crossed the Khyber pass and occupied some hill territories and fortresses of the Hindushahis in the vicinity of Peshawar. He stayed on the bank of the Indus for a couple of weeks and had a good look at the vast stretch of the Indian plains along the river. He returned after stationing a strong contingent on the Indian side of the pass. This was his first visit to the pass which he garrisoned and made safe for his future expeditions.

Mahmud marched against Jaipal the year following, at the head of 15000 select cavalry and a large number of Ghazis (The Ghaznavids; 1963) and encamped near Peshawar. Jaipal crossed the Indus with 12000 cavalry, 30000 infantry and 300 elephants, to meet the invader. The battle took place on November 27, 1001. Jaipal was defeated and taken prisnoer along with his chief officers and kingmen; fifteen thousand of his men lay dead, spreading like a carpet on the ground and providing ample food for beasts and birds of prey. Anandpal the son of the Jaipal, who had been left behind at Waihand to look after the affairs of the state, had to pay a heavy ransom to secure the release of his father and others. Jaipal could not fear the disgrace and burnt himself to death on a self-lit pyre. He was succeeded on the throne of Waihand by Anandpal. Mahmud returned to Ghazni with a huge booty and a large number of the Indian captives as slaves. This initial victory over Hindushahis, the guardians of the northwestern frontier of India, encouraged him a great deal.

After the conquest of Siestan (1002-4), Mahmud led his third expedition into India in 1004-5. He marched with his victorious army through Baluchistan, crossed the Indus and started loot and plunder in the Multan region. He met with stiff opposition at the fort of Bhatiya, situated on the trade route from the Khyber pass to Multan. Its ruler Baji or Biji Rai gave a heroic fight but was defeated, instead of falling into the hand of the invaders, he saved his honour by committing suicide; All the inhabitants of Bhatiya who refused to embrace Islam were put to the sword.

Mahmud returned to Ghazni along the Indus via the Khyber pass, his men took time to move and were caught in the rains before they could clear the pass. The swollen Indus and its tributaries took a heavy tool of life and booty of the invaders, who were also pillaged by the Indian tribals. It made Mahmud wiser in plaaning his subsequent expeditions.

Mahmud led his fourth expedition (1005-6) against Abdul Fatch Daud, the Karmatia ruler of Multan, duffed as heretic by the Turks. Anandpal refused to give a passage to the invaders through his dominions and had to suffer a heavy loss. Daud capitulated without a fight and pleased Mahmud by the surrender of his treasure, horses and other valuables. He was allowed to retain multan on the promise to pay annual tribute and follow the principles of the Sunni faith.

[illegible] (fifth expedition). Anandpal was prepared to meet the coming danger. He had received some aid in men and material from the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar,

While returning to Ghazni, Mahmud appointed a Hindu convert Nawasa Shah, to look after his congquered territories in Hindustan.

About this time, the turks under Ilak Khans, invaded Khurasan. Mahmud, therefore, remained busy on his central, Asian frontier for about two years. Taking advantage of his long obsence: Nawasa Shah renounced Islam and tended to behave as an independent ruler of the northwestern frontier. Daud of Multan also began to collaborate with him. The fifth expedition of Mahmud (1007-8) war, accordingly directed against Nawasa Shah. The latter attempted to escape towards the Kashmir hills but was taken prisoner and deprived of his personal treasure of about four lakh dinars.

The ever-increasing frequency of Mahmud's raids made Anandpal, the Hindushahi ruler, extremely anxious about the safety of his state. All along, Mahmud had been striking at the fringes of the Hindushahi kingdom, subjugating and humiliating the petty chieftains and demoralising their people. Sooner or later the hindushahis must settle their scoress with the invader; in spite of the successive defeats having been suffered by its rulers, the hindushahis constituted yet the most formidable stumbling block in the way of Mahmud. Anandpal was fully concious of the gravity of the situation. Mahmud launched a full-fledged invasion of the hindushahi kingdom in (1008-0) (sixth expedition). Anandpal was prepared to meet the coming danger. He had received some aid in men and material from the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar,

Gwalior and Kanauj. There was great enthusiasm among the people of the northern India; many Hindu-ladies sold their organments and the poower among them worked hard at their spinning wheels, to provide money for the soldiers. A united effort was made by the Indians to face the foreigner. The two armies met on the banks of the Indus. Mahmud resorted to strategy to meet the situatioh. With back to the Khaber pass, firmly secured and made safe for retreat in case of defeat, he entrenched his main army in the plain of Unhachh near Hazru on the east of the Indus (C.V. Vaidya: 1926). The armies remained encamped face with each other for 'forty days' without engaging themselves. Meanwhile the troops of Anandpal daily increased in number. Ultimately, Mahmud sent 6000 archers to provoke the enemy to move forward and attack his entrenchments. It had its desired effect; Anandpal's forces dashed forward and a bloody battle ensued. To quote firishta, during the heat of the 30000 infidel Khokhars, with their heads and feet bare, armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated on two sides and forcing their way into the midst of the cavalry-slaughtered three or four thousand Muhammedans. They carried their success so far that the Sultan, observing their feary retreated from the thick of the fight that he might stop the battle for that day. Defeat stared him in the face, but to his good fortune, just at that crucial moment, the wounded elephant of Anandpal got out of control and fled the battlefield, carrying the monarch along with him. It spread panic among the Hindu fighters, who

This made Mahmud famous as a World Crusader and conqueror of Hindustan-"the golden sparrow of Asia". He established

treating it as a signal for the flight of their leader, broke the engagement. According to the Muslim chroniclers, no less than 8000 of them were killed in the retreat. This broke the backbone of the National resistance movement against the Turkish invader. Mahmud did not stay put at the battlefield after this glorious victory. A part of his army spread over the plains and took possession of the entire upper valley of the Indus including Waihand. He himself moved speedily, at the head of select cavalry. along the foothills of Punjab, apparently with the object of giving a hot chase to the fugitive Hindu soldiers. As a matter of fact, he had a sinister design up his sleeves. To the great chagrin and bewilderment of the hill chiefs, he, all of a sudden, thundered at the gates of Nagarkot which had one of the most sacred and richest temples of National fame. Mamud won an easy victory over the defenders of the fortress plundered the temple as well as the populace and returned to Ghazni laden with booty the temple alone yielded 700000 minted gold coins, 700 maunds of gold and silver ingots and jewellery and twenty maunds of precious stones- pearls and rubies of incalculable value. Many rare trophies of the war had never been seen or heard of by the people of central Asia. Mahmud held a grand exhibition of the booty in the imperial lawns at Ghazni for many a week, the ambassadors from the Muslim countries and the people from far and near poured into Ghazni to have a glimpse of the fabulous wealth.

This made Mahmud famous as a Muslim crusader and conqueror of Hindustan-"the golden sparrow of Asia". He established

his undisputed military dominance over northern India and played havoc there during the next two decades; the Indian rulers trembled to hear his name. The Nagarkot exploit provided due to the centuries-old accumulated wealth of India in the holy shrines. It sharpened Mahmud's Qvarice for the precious metal and encouraged him to strike at other famous Hindu temples with a still greater ferocity.

In his seventh expedition (1009-10), Mahmud penetrated deep into the heart of India upto Narayan. Its ruler was defeated and had to part with his entire treasury, armoury and other valuables. He promised further to assist Mahmud with men and material in his future compaigns against the neighbouring rulers.

Next year (1010-11), Mahmud took a punitive expedition against king Daud of Multan who had failed to act as his faithful satellite and reverted to "the old heretic practices".Daud was taken prisoner and deposed;hundreds of Karmatias, dubbed as heretics, were put to the sword. Mahmud appointed a turkish military officer as governor of Multan before his return to Ghazni.

In his ninth expedition (1012-13), Mahmud laid his hands on Thanesar- 'the Mecca of Hindus'. It was then an independent principality Mahmud knew that, given the warning millions of Indians might be willing to shed their blood for the protection of the holy place. He therefore, kept his plan a closely guarded secret, even from his own camp-followers. As usual, he moved with

his well disciplined cavalry along the foot-hills of Shivaliks. On reaching the table-land near modern Chandigarh he made a sharp detour towards Thanesar and took its inhabitants by surprise. On the way, only one Indian chief Rama attempted to check his advance on the bank of a stream and perished with all his men on the battle field. Before the Hindu princes, it was all over, the town and it holy shirnes lay in ruins- the heaps of debris covered with rotting corpses. Like a hurricane Mahmud had made a clean sweep of his target and was already beyond the reach of the Hindu forces; treading his way to Ghazni with the same swiftness with which he had come. It was nothing, short of a highway robbery, accompanied by unsurpassed vandalism.

Since the fall of Waihand (1008-9), Anandpal had set up his headquarters at Nandana in the salt range. On his death (C. 1012), Mahmud made a determined bid to liquidate the hindushahis. He marched upon Nandana (1013-14): at the head of a large cavalry force and besieged the fort. Trilochanpal, the son and successor of Anandpal, left the defences of the fort to his son Bhimpal and himself retreated towards the Kashmir hills. Bhimpal gave a heroic fight to the invader, in the true spirit of his forefathers, but his army was routed by the latter in a pitched battle, fought outside the fort. He escaped to the hills thereafter. Even then the handful of the besieged shahi soldiers refused to surrender until Mahmud planted wives under the walls of the fort and threatened them with total annihiliation. An

Indian convert named Sarog was appointed governor of Nandana by him.

In (1015-16), Mahmud invaded the Kashmir valley. Trilochanpal and his son Bhimpal gave him a slip and returned to Punjab to salvage whatever portion of their territories had escaped the fury of the invader. Mahmud laid siege to the fort of Lohkot but the besieged garrsion gave a stubborn fight and compelled the invader to raise the siege. Severity of winter, accompanied by heavy snowfall incapcitated Mahmud's army. It lost its way in the vales and hills and was reduced considerably in numbers. This was, incidentally, the only expedition of Mahmud which proved unsuccessful.

It would be appropriate to narrate here the subsequent efforts made by Mahmud to finally liquidate the Hindushahi dynasty. Chronologically, these were intervened by some other campaigns of Mahmud. After encamping in the neighbourhood of modern Srihind for a shortwhile, Trilochanpal shifted to Lahore which became the capital of the Hindushahis. The people of central Punjab rallied round him in thousand, ready to lay down their lives for the defence of their homeland. Mahmud also could not rest at care until be had delivered a final blow to the Hindushahis. He invaded Lahore (1021-22) during his fourteenth expedition and gave yet another defeat to Trilochanpal. Lahore fell into the hands of the invader as also 270 war elephants. The whole of Punjab upto the bank of the Sutlej was declared annexed to the Ghazni

empire. Trilochanpal escaped once again and attempted to form a junction with Vidyadhara the Chandela prince of Kalanjara (Bundelkhand). On his way Trilochanpal was probably assassinated by some of his own selfish men who had become sick of his unending struggle against the turks. His son Bhimpal outlived his father by six years without claiming any royal title with his death (C. 1026) as a fugitive, the hindushahi dynasty came to an end.

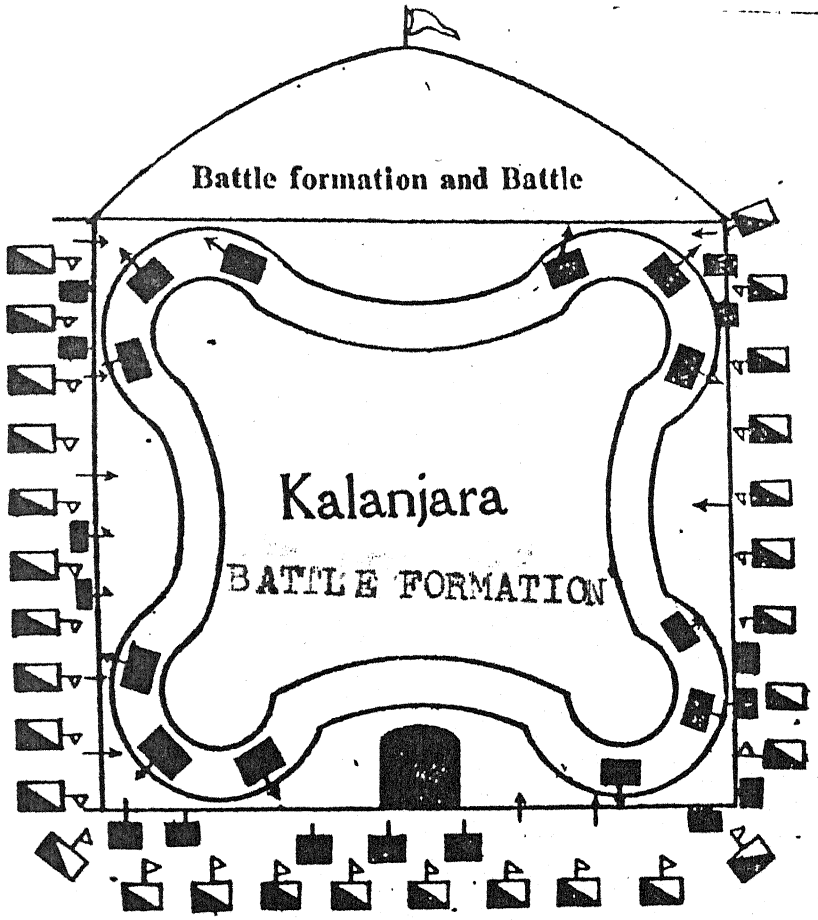
To resume the main story, after his unsuccessful expedition to Kashmir, Mahmud remained busy for about two years (1016-18) on his western front which proved to be a temporary lull before the terrible storm that he let loose over the Gangetic valley in (1018-20). He invaded Kanauj, then ruled by Rajyapal; the Gurjara-pratihar chief. On the way, Hardutt, the king of Bulandshahar surrendered without a fight, he embraced Islam along with his ten thousand soldiers. Kulchand, the ruler of Mathura, lost 50,000 of his soldiers at the battlefield of Mahavana. Instead of falling into the hands of the invaders, he saved his honour by committing suicide along with his wife. Mahmud desecrated about one thousand temples in Mathura and its neighbourhood. His forces spread themselves in the Gangetic Doab, carrying fire and sword wherever they went Rajyapal fled Kanauj on the approach of the invaders. According to Utbi, the latter ransacked and destroyed 10000 temples in that region. Mahmud carried back with him two million gold coins, invaluable quantities of gold, silver and precious stones 350 elephants and 53,000 Hindu slaves.

Rajyapal was permitted to take charge of his kingdom as a vassal of Mahmud.

On Mahmud's return, Rajyapal reappeared in Kanauj, to be hated and despised by his act of cowardice. Mahmud, therefore, directed his next expedition (1020-21) against Kalanjara. On the way he laid siege to Gwalior but failed to conquer it. Its ruler Kirtiraja of the Kachhapaghata clan, accepted nominal suzerainty of Mahmud and got ride of him by offering thirty-five war elephants only.

According to Gardizi, Gandaraja challenged the invader with 1450000 infantry, 36000 cavalry and 640 elephant he was supported by some other hindu chiefs. Before the actual fight Ganda became, however suspicious of treachery on the part of his colleagues and fled the field at night, leaving behind immense baggage and armoury which fell into the hands of the invaders, the booty included 580 war elephant also. Ganda took refuge in the fort of Kalanjara which was promptly besieged by Mahmud. In spite of his best efforts, he failed to conquer it and was obliged to raise the siege on the offer of 300 war elephants by the Chandella. About this time; Vidyadhara the illustrious son of Ganda, seems to have been in charge of the Kalanjara fort who pleased Mahmud of Ghazni by sending him a self-composed poem in praise of his suzerain. The compaign against Gwalior and Kalanjara was not very successful. Mahmud returned to Ghazni in a hurry so as not to be caught in the rainy season in the midst of the

BATTLE OF KALANJARA (1022 A.D.)



INFANTRY VIDYADHARA

CAVALRY MAHMUD

INFANTRY MAHMUD

FIG: 3.2

unbeaten Hindu rulers and hostile population.

6.5:1-(b) Comparative Military Strenght:

1. Vidyadhara - According to Al-Tarikhi Kamil bin ul Athir (p. 216); Vidyadhara possessing an army of-

56000 cavalry

184000 Infantry

746 Elephant

2. Mahmud - According to the Ghaznavids: Their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040 (1963); Mahmud marched with 15,000 select cavalry and a large number of Ghazis; According to Clifford Edmund Bosworth, 10000 ghazis accompainied Mahmudin 1001-2 against Jaipal and 20,000 in his Kanauj campaign. Their number was much large on the occasion of the Kalanjara expedition.

Battle formation and Battle:

Fig (6:2)- According to Dr. S.K. Singh (Varanasi:1986): History of Indian warfare, Section II.

The Kalanjara fort situated on the lofty crag of a precipitous rock of hard stone on an outlying branch of the Vindhyas, was deemed impregnable. This fortress now came under the siege of Mahmuds forces. According to Nizamuddin "the seige lasted for a considerable time, when Nanda, the ruler of the fort offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. Evidently like

the Gwalior fort the Kalanjara also could not be stormed by Mahmud in spite of his all out efforts. It may be remembered that Mahmud set out on this expedition with a specific object of punishing Vidyadhara but as is evident from the statements of Muslim historians this was hardly achieved. Both the strongholds of Gwalior and Kalanjara remained unconquered and on both occasions the Sultan raised the siege on receipt of a formal submission, followed by exchange of gifts and presents, which in the hands of the Muslims chroniclers of a later period came to be depicted as tribute. The mode of presentations would also reveal that there was an element of challenge in it. In the wofds of firishta 'the Raja (i.e. Vidyadhara) in order to put the bravery of the Sultan's troops to the test, intoxicated the elephants which drugs, and let them loose without riders, into the camp. Mahmud seeing the animals advance, and perceiving their condition by the wildness of their manner, ordered a party of his best horses to seize or kill them; or to drive them from the camp. Some of the Tartars, zealous of displaying the bravery in the presence of their king, fearlessly approached and mounted some of the elephant and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were all soon reduced to obedience. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nanda then sent to him a Panegyric in the Indian or Hindu longue, in praise of the Sultan and bravery of his troops. The sultan felt much elated at the compliments which were very highly spoken of by the learned men of Hindusthan and other poets of Arabia and follows:

Persia who, were in attendance on him. In return Mahmud also sent his congratulations to Vidyadhara and conferred on him the government of 15 fortresses and other presents before returning to Ghazna "with victory and triumph", according to Tabakat-i-Akbari. The Gainual Akhbar even goes the length of recording payment of 'Jiziya' by Nanda as one of the condition for peace. But as has been mentioned earlier these statements are to be taken with a grain of salt as the expedition could by no means be regarded as successful as Mahmud's earlier invasions. Though there was a formal submission by the Chandela ruler, the real fact was that both sides retired with honours even.

Browne and Md. Iqbal suggest that this friendship between the ruler of Kalanjara and the sultan of Ghazni continued till at least 1029 A.D. when Mahmud sent a Tartar prince as a prisoner to the fort of Kalanjara in India. Dr. H.C. Ray (1931) rightly feels sceptical about the identification of the fort of Kalanjara as has been suggested by Browne and Iqbal. According to him, it seems more likely that it should be identified with the Kalanjara of Kalhana or Kalunjur of Firishta, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir.

6.5:II BATTLE OF MAHOBA (1182-83 A.D.)

6.5:II-(a)- Historical Background: The account of the conflict between the two dynasties: Cauhan ruler of Delhi, Prithviraj-Chamana and Chandela king Paramardi, as given in the Raso, is as follow:

The Cauhan ruler of Delhi, Prithviraj, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded soldiers who had helped the retreat of the Cauhan ruler, took refuge in a garden of Parmal, but were assailed and put to death by the Chandela king. To avenge the death of his soldiers, Prithviraj invaded the territory of the Chandela's whose soldiers were cut to pieces at sirswa, the advanced post of Paramal's kingdom. The Chandela called a council and by the advice of Parmal's wife (the Chandel Queen) Malandevi demanded a truce of the Cauhans on the plea of the absence of the Mahoba heroes Alha and Udal. Prithviraj accepted the proposal and a temporary truce was made.

Chand then narrates the story of Alha and Udal, the two great Banaphar heroes, and the cause of their banishment from Mahoba. According to Chand, Jaraj, the Banaphar, once saved the sovereign of Mahoba from the wild race of Gonds and captured Garha, their capital. In gratitude Parmal bestowed many presents on Jasraj, and the queen Malwadevi made no distinction between Alha and Udal the two sons of Jasraj, and her own son. Now the fief of Alha and Udal was the fortress of Kalanjara, where their sovereign Parmal happening to see a fine more belonging to Alha, desired to possess her, and being refused compelled the two brothers to leave the Chandel country. On their retreat the two brothers burnt the estates of the Parihar chief, who had instigated their banishment with their mother and families they went to Kanauj, where Jaichand, the Gahadavala king received them cordially and assigned lands for their maintenance.

Chand's account now refers back to the actual conflict between the Cauhans and the Chandela; Jagrakh, the Chandela bard, reached Kanauj and stating all facts to Alha and Udal and their mother Dewaldi begged them to return at the behest of of the Chandela Queen. At first Alha and Udal, remembering the injustice done to them, refused to go back to Mahoba and fight for Parmal. Alha said that for the Chandela he had beaten the Moslems ten-times subdued Dhara, Antarvedi Malava and half of the Punjab but in return for all these triumphs they were banished by their sovereign. Their mother Dewaldi, however rebuked her sons and persuaded them to go back to Mahoba. They all went back after a warm send of from Jaichand, who also gave them, 50000 soldiers and many valuable presents on their return home Alha and Udal were heartily welcomed by the Chandela king and the Queen and the people.

The Historical story of the lay of Alha is similar to that given in the Prithviraj Raso in its earlier part but it differs in the later part. According to this tradition, Mahil, a Pariharchief, who was the brother and Parmal's Queen Malhan (Malandevi in the Raso) was an arch enemy of the Chandela and continually conspired with Prithviraj and other enemies of the liue to overthrow them. In the Prithviraj Raso also Mahil is described as a conspirator against the Chandela, but it does not mention so manyincidents of his conspiracy as does the lay of Alha. The lay of Alha states that Parmal's son Brahma (Brahmananda) and Brahmajit in the Raso) married Bela; the daughter of Prithviraj,

BATTLE OF MAHOBA (1182-83 A.D.)

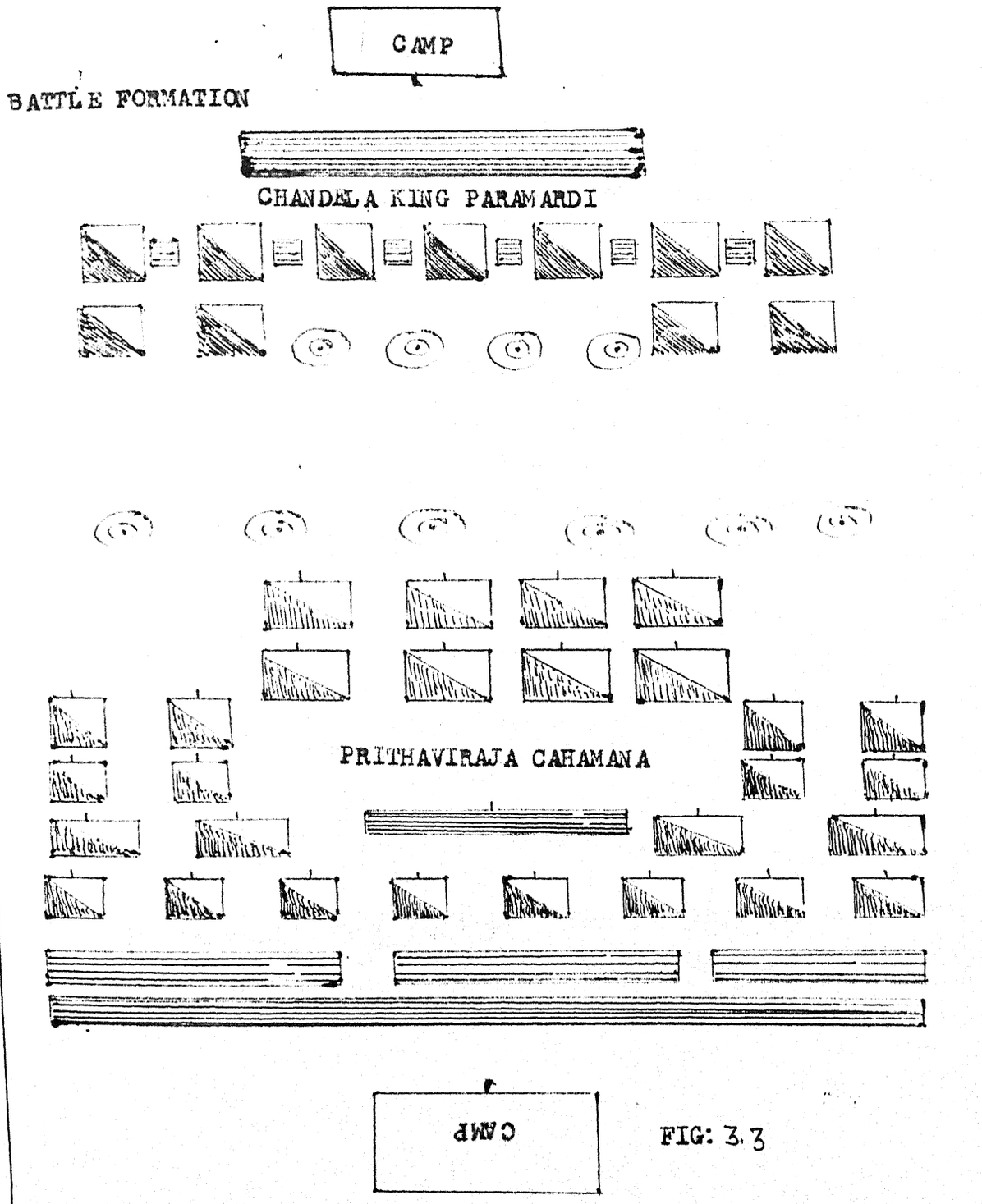


FIG: 3.3

against the latter's wishes. But once the marriage was solemnised Prithviraj and Parmal were on friendly terms and the former even helped the Chandela's against one of their enemies.

6.5.II-(b) Real Cause of War : The real cause of the conflict between the Cauhans and the Chandelas as indicated by the lay was Prithviraja's desire to capture sirsa, a strategic point between Mahoba and Delhi, where a number of roads met. In this respect the lay of Alha agrees with the Prithviraj Raso. Parmal was a vassal of Jaichand and was helped by the latter with a large army. even Lakhan the nephew and heir of Jaychand Joined Alha and Udal to fight against Prithviraj.

6.5:II-(c) Comparative Military Strength:

1. Paramardi- According to Prithviraj Raso; the Parmardi has an army of 100000, and in his army was his son Brahmananda and a Pathan named Talhan Khan with 20,000 cavalry. Jaichand helped with 50000 soldiers and in the fort of Kalanjara 20,000 soldiers. Total army more than 200000.

2. Prithviraj : According to tradition Prithviraj had, 200000 cavalry, 3000 elephants and more than infantry, army against the battle of Chandela's

6.5:II-(d) Battle Formation and Battle : Fig(6.3) Battle formation according to tradition.

6.5:II-(e) Battle Against the Chandels : This Prithviraj's battles

against the Chandels are very famous and have been desfribed at length in folklore. The Prithviraj Raso (Pandia: M.V. & S.S. Das: 1913) the Parmal Raso (S.S. Das: 1920) and Alha Raso (W. Waterfield: 1925) refer to serious hostilities between Prithviraj and the Paramardi in some details. But these are later on fabricated by different popular bards who were either interested to glorify Prithviraj or Parmal.

It is said that Alha was the commander of the forces of the Chandel Paramal of Mahoba (Kalanjara). However, later on, he left the capital and went to Kanauj as one of the ministers of Parmal hatched a plot against him. When the Chandela's were engaged in an encounter with some enemy; Prithviraj invaded. As averred in tradition and the Prithviraj Raso the Chauhan army passed through Sirasa (Near Jhansi) where Malkhan a relative of Alha was ruling. It laid a siege to that place Malakhan requested Paramal for immediate help. But Paramal being inimical to him refrained from sending any reinforcement and sent a message that Malkhan was competent enough to confront the Chauhans successfully. Thus Malkhan defending stoutly was slain and his wife became sati proceeding thence Prithviraj went to Mahoba. The Chandel army was then engaged at Masarani (on the bank of river Betawa. On receiving intelligence of advancement of Chauhan army Paramal deputed Janeshvar Bhatt to bring back (Sisir Kumar Mitra: 1958) Alha and Udal. At first Alha and Udal resented but due to constant persuation; they agreed to come to help of Paramal.

Gahadawal Jaichand also (Sisir Kumar Mitra: 1958) deputed an army consisting of his 32 generals for the help of the Chandelas. In the mean time finding himself unable to cope with the Chauhan army Paramal requested for truce.

At last on receiving reinforcement Paramal prepared himself for battle. The decisive battle was fought at Urai. Alha displayed conspicuous gallantly. Paramal ran away and took refuge in the fort of Kalanjara. The above account of Mahoba Khand and Alha Khand, is probably a mixture of fact and fiction but for want of other authentic evidence, we cannot say anything definitely However it is true that Prithviraj invaded the territory of the Chandelas. There are 3 inscription (progress Report of Archaeological Survey of Western Circle: 1903-4) of V.E. 1239 incised in the Shiv temple of Madanpur:

(i) The first inscription mentions that Prithviraj Chauhan invaded the territory of the Chandelas belonging to Paramardi.

(ii) The second inscription simply mentions of the antecedents of Prithviraj. He had been described as the son of Someshwar and grand son of Arnoraj. It is also said that he had successfully carried out depredations in the country named Tajabhukhti.

(iii) The third inscription contains simply the names of Shiv as Trayambaka Chandra Shekhar and Tripuranta.

On the basis of these epigraphs it is apparent that Prithviraj proceeded upto Madanpur, which is 30 miles aways from Dudahi; 35 miles away from Lalitpur and 30 miles from Sagar. It is quite curious that these inscriptions do not mention of defeat of Paramardi. These are literary references which may throw sufficient light on this point. The Prabandh-Chintamani of Merutung mentions that in a battle fought against Prithviraj Paramardi's forces were badly defeated. It is also indicated in a concluding verse that Paramardi could save himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth in presence of Prithviraj. This verse is also referred in the Sarangadhar-Paddhati. It seems that Prithviraj's victory was in the shape of digvijay. On his return; Paramardi re-captured this territory. His inscriptions (H.C. Ray: 1931) of V.S. 1240 are known from Mahoba and Kalanjara In the Kalanjara inscription dated V.S. 1258 (1201 A.D.), he is also described as the ruler of the Darshan country. In this way, we have to look askance at the account of complete victory of Prithviraj-III over Chandel territory as mentioned in the Raso.

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CHAPTER-VII

ANALYSIS OF FORT AND FORTIFICATION AND ITS MILITARY IMPORTANCE

7. FORTS AND FORTIFICATIONS

7.1: INTRODUCTION

In the history of defence and warfare, fortified sites played a role of key significance, until the invention of the aeroplane and the modern engines of destruction reduced their efficacy; but they yet remain, great and grim reminders of bygone battles. Forts sheltered towns and villages and all that they contained, commanded roads and rivers as well as the adjacent territory, and served as refuge against pressure of raiders and invaders. Even non-military people and those unfit for the field could help man the defences of a fort, while the enemy needed double the strength of the garrison to invest it. The beginnings of fortification in India can be traced as far back as the prehistoric age. At Kot Diji, fifteen miles south of Khairpur and 25 miles east of Mohenjodaro, a fortified town of pre-Indus date has been laid bare by recent excavation, 'with a strongly walled citadel armed with rectangular towers of stone and mud-brick (Wheeler, Sir Mortimer: 1959). A burnt layer crowns the 'Kot Dijian' strata, a reminder, perhaps, of the site's destruction about 2400 B.C., when it was surmounted by an unfortified settlement of the Harappan type (Wheeler, Sir Mortimer: 1959).

7.2 PRE-HISTORIC FORT & FORTIFICATION

At Kohtras Buthi, in Sind, N.G. Majumdar (1930-34) discovered a fortified site of the Amri culture, slightly earlier than Harappan. The ruins occupy the top of a hill steep and inaccessible on three sides, but gradually sloping down to only ten feet above the surrounding plain on the south. As one goes up the southern slope, he comes across first a low rampart wall, and next a second wall, larger and stronger than the first. This latter wall is made of cyclopean masonry, and shows traces of four ruined bastions with an entrance on the south-east. Professor Piggott (1950) likens the site to a 'promontory fort', and compares it with the fortifications on the Tharro hill, also in Sind. Here, too, the fortifications 'take the form of double walls, curved and of massive construction and 250 feet apart, cutting off the southern headland of the hill in true promontory-fort manner'. Amri Ware was found on the surface, but plain red ware allied to that of Harappa, was also in evidence (Piggot, Stuart: 1950). Yet another Amri settlement in Sind, called Dhillanijo Kot, shows traces of a defensive wall surrounding the site (Piggott, Stuart, 1950).

At Toji and Mazena-damb in South Baluchistan, two sites probably of the Kulli culture, Stein noted the indications of a possible defensive wall around the settlement, and similar walls probably stood at the Siah-damb of Jhau (Piggott, Stuart: 1950). And at Mughal Ghundai, too, there are traces of a defensive wall to the settlement (Piggott, Stuart: 1950).

Not long ago, Sir Mortimer Wheeler's fieldwork and excavation at Harappa and Mohenjodaro proved the existence of lofty citadels at the two sites. 'We now know that each of them was dominated by a massively fortified citadel, and must therefore have been subjected to autocratic or bureaucratic citadel rule, its precise form at present unknown and unlikely to be known until perhaps some happy discovery unlocks the Harappa script (Wheeler Sir M.: 1959).

The defences of Harappa (Wheeler Sir M.:1959) fell roughly within the limits of a parallelogram, 460 yards by 215 yards, and there was a complex western gate-system with terraces designed for ceremonial purposes, and provided with guard-rooms at the outer angles. The main entrance was perhaps represented by the gateway on the northern side.

The great rampart of mud and mud-brick was designed as an embankment against the inroads of the flood water. Ten to twenty feet high, it helped raise the base of the defences proper above flood level. On the bund stood the main wall of mud-brick battered externally and internally, with a basal width of 40 feet and a height of about 35 feet. It was revetted with a facing of baked brick on the outside, battered back to a slope of 23-31 degrees from the vertical, and reinforced by rectangular towers or salients, some of which were carried higher than the main wall, as suggested by the surviving masses of mud-brick core.

A long period of wear and tear necessitated the reconstruction of the original baked brick revetment, which was consider-

ably thickened in some places. This rebuilding with complete bricks instead of brick-bats was done in perfect fashion at the height of Harappa's glory. But in the next and the last phase of reconstruction, an additional salient was added to the north-west corner, and the two entrances of the western gate-system were wholly or partially blocked. The Harappans, as Wheeler said, were on the defensive

The westernmost mound at Mohenjodaro was surrounded by similar defences (Wheeler Sir M.: 1960). It is actually surmounted by a Buddhist stupa of the second century A.D., which has hindered a proper excavation of the site. The artificial platform of the citadel, built of mudbrick and mud, dates from the phase to which great public buildings such as the Bath and the Granary also belong. At or near its south-eastern corner the citadel mound includes a system of solid burnt-brick towers, yet to be fully explored (Wheeler Sir M.: 1960) The brickwork of the earliest of these towers 31x22 ft., contemporary with the platform, was originally reinforced by horizontal timbers; it tended to crumble as the wood decayed, and was partially repaired with bricks. The Great Granary, also contemporary with the citadel mound, was the only other building so constructed. The later builders of the adjacemt towers did not repeat the mistake. 'It would almost appear that the mound and its buildings are the work of a new immigrant regime accustomed to the traditions of mud-brick rather than of baked-brick architecture (Wheeler Sir M.:1960).

Two of the tectangular bastions at the south-eastern corner seem to have flanked a postern gate, which was later blocked

and replaced by a platform with a parapet. About a hundred baked-clay missiles were found in the debris on this platform (Wheeler Sir M.:1960). The towers, together with other foundations to their east yet uncovered, may be found to belong to a small fort or strong-point.

A baked-brick tower or salient, still standing 10 feet high, has been partially exposed on the west side of the citadel, to the outh of the Granary. A small postern has also been identified to the north of this tower. The citadel platform had defences throughout its circuit, even though they were not as uniform as those of Harappa.

A small site of the Harappa culture, Ali Murad in Sind, was surrounded by a stone wall three to five feet thick, which enclosed an irregularly rectangular area including houses and at least one well (Majumdar, N.G.: 1934). It is not far from the Phusi Pass, opening from the Kirthar range on to the lowland, and the fortification seems to have been a normal provision for safety from enemies and robbers (Wheeler, Sir M.:1960).

At Sutkagen-dor in Makran, Stein found massive fortifications enclosing an area about 170 yards by 125 years, in association with Harappan pottery (Sten, Sir A.: 1931, 1937). The wall was built of roughly squared stone blocks in courses, 30 feet wide at the foot and with a vertical inner face, while the outer face was battered at an angle of 40 degrees. It must have been originally 20 to 25 feet high, and the whole site was indeed very strongly

fortified. In the south-western corner, there were traces of a gateway only 8 feet wide, with probable flanking towers or guard-houses; buildings once stood both inside and outside this gateway. Sutkagen-dor must have been an important trading post, as providing contact with the sea-borne trade of the Persian Gulf and the Arabian (Piggott Stuart: 1950).

Recent excavations at Kalibagan on the left bank of the Ghaggar in Northern Rajasthan have brought to light an important centre of the Harappan civilization (Indian Archaeology: 1960-61). The larger mound revealed successive remains of ordinary houses. But the smaller mound contained a massive mud-brick platform, over which stood the relevant buildings. The latter mound perhaps represents a citadel, the location of which facing the general habitation area reminds one of both the Harappa and Mohenjodaro citadel-mounds. And if these two cities were the provincial capitals of a big empire, it is not impossible that Kalibagan also enjoyed a metropolitan status in the Sarasvati valley (Indian Archaeology: 1960-61).

Walter A. Fairservis, Jr. (1961) asserts that religion was the intensifying factor that created and gave form to the Harappa civilization; Mohenjodaro was almost purely a ceremonial centre, and the fortifications at Mohenjodaro and Harappa were presumably defences against floods only (Walter A. Fair Serivic Jr.: 1961). But his hypothesis does not bear scrutiny. The pre-historic fortifications at the two famous sites and elsewhere cannot

be explained away as mere defences against floods. A man in his house is safer than a man in the open, and it does not require a great stretch of the imagination to seek safety behind a wall against an enemy's onslaught. That the walls also guarded against floods, does not by any means disprove the contemporary appreciation of their military value. Religion has been a vital factor in Indian life across the centuries, but it has always sought harmony with the political authority; the one could not fashion the pattern of existence without the other. Lofty citadels such as those of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, including great gateways and watchtowers, clearly bespeak authority as well as the need for defence against an alien enemy. The astonishing organisation and efficiency of urban life, well planned streets and drainage system, great granaries and coolies' barracks, alike betoken the whip of a coercive power that formulated the laws of civic life and ensured their observance. A certain measure of autocracy is plainly manifest in the scheme of affairs, and the citadels presuppose a regular organisation of defence, despite the poor quality of the Harappan weapons. Large round balls of baked clay and sling pellets of round and ovoid shape found in and around the enclosed area at Mohenjodaro (Marshal Sir J.: 1950, 1931) leave little doubt that the fortifications stood as bulwarks of defence against the contingency of human invasion.

The numerous references to forts and fortifications in the Rgveda and the later Vedic literature were dismissed by earlier scholars as being either mythical or at best referring

to primitive earth-works reinforced by palisades or possibly rarely by stone. The later discovery, however, of prehistoric fortifications, lent a character and reality to the Rgvedic purs and durgas that had never been visualised before. And the gap that yawned between Harappa and the later fortified sites, has been considerably narrowed by the archaeological labours of recent years. The advent of the Aryans in India synchronises with the death or destruction of the cities of the Indus valley. Some of the inhabitants of these cities were probably the Dasyus and Dasas of the Rgveda, proto-Australoids with dakr skins and flat noses, worshippers of the phallus- natural enemies of the Aryan intruder.

Indra, the Aryan battle-god, goes on 'from fight to fight intrepidly, destroying fort after fort with strength (Rgveda Samhita: 1940). He overthrows the non-Aryan kings and rends their forts 'as age consumes a garment (Rgveda Samhita: 1940). He is the great leveller of the Dasas' towns (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) and all the circumstantial evidence, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler remarks, seems to brand him as the author of the destruction of great cities of the Harappan epoch. A verse of the Rgveda, describing how he slays the noseless Dasyus, and in their home overthrows the hostile speakers (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) reminds one of people massacred in their homes and streets at Mohenjodaro. And Hariyupiya, mentioned in the Rgveda as the scene of an Aryan victory, may be none other than Harappa itself (Wheeler Sir M.:1960). This, though, is a mere conjecture, and proof is yet distant. Agni, too, like Indra, figures as a fort-destroyer (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) and indeed

helps him reduce ninety castles of the Dasas (Rgveda Samhita:1940). And the myth of Indra killing a demon to free the pent-up waters may probably signify the destruction of the river dams constructed by the Indus people, so that the wafers turned against them (Piggott Stuart: 1950).

We can now understand the nature of the forts and strongholds (pur, durga) (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) described in the Rgveda as made of ayas (Rgveda Samhita: 194))and of stone (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) The epithet ama (Rgveda Samhit: 1940) is used in the Rgveda, in the sense of ramparts or defensive walls, with palisades and a ditch. And the Atharva Veda uses vapra for 'rampart'. Forts are described as 'broad' (prthvi) and wide (urvi), or as consisting of a hundred walls, even in the Rgveda and the term mahapura, 'great fort', occurs in the Yajur Veda Samhitas and the Brahmanas. The view of Pischel and Geldner (1899-01) that there were towns with wooden walls and ditches in the Vedic period, like Pataliputra of a later day as known to Megasthenes and the Pali texts, does not appear altogether impr-obable.

The significance of the autumnal forts mentioned in the Rgveda (1940) is somewhat difficult to explain. They must have served to guard the people against floods and human attack during autumn. But, as floods do not constitute a regular feature of the autumn, the forts presumably served their primary purpose of defence against man during the cool season of campaigns and

predatory activity. This possibly explains the epithet 'autumnal' as applied to the Vedic fortifications.

The Rgveda (1940) mentions the purpati, 'lord of the fort'. He may have been a ruler or governor, or a regular officer like the gramani at another level. Macdonell and Keith hold that he was the chief of a fort under attack. It was, as we know, a time of troubles and insecurity; sudden attacks and regular raids presented a permanent source of anxiety; and we should not be surprised if the purpati was the commander of a permanent garrison, the custodian of the fort's defence.

Forts were reduced by siege (upasad) and effective blockade (Taitiriya Samhita) and sometimes finally captured by breaching the walls (prabhid) and assault. The pur-carisnu of a Rgvedic passage may have been some kind of a battering ram used in assaulting a fort. Fire doubtless played an important part in siege operations. Arrows tipped with flame must have been used to set fire to enemy strongholds. The Taittiriya Samhita speaks of the three citadels of the Asuras cleft by a shaft, whose point was Agni. Agni is not infrequently described as a destroyer of forts. The role of fire in war is well illustrated in a Rgvedic passage cited below:

'Transifx the fiends with darts that burn most fiercely.
Forth go in rapid flight thy whirling weapons
follow them closely, glowing in the fury.
Spread with thy tongue the winged flames, O Agni;
unfettered, cast thy firebrands all around thee'
(Rgveda, iv-4.12)

And again:

> '....in kindled fire he (Indra) burnt up all their weapons,
> And made him rich with kine and carts and horses'
>
> (Rgveda:1940)

The Atharva Veda similarly speaks of 'tongues of fire' and 'tufts of smoke' left in the trail of a conquering army. (Atharva Veda: 1905).

That all the forts referred to in the Vedic literature were not Dasa strongholds, is proved alike by the internal evidence of the Vedas and the spadework of the archaeologist. The Rgveda contains repeated prayers to Agni to preserve the faithful with 'forts of ayas (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) and to 'be unto us a wide, broad ample castle (Rgveda Samhita: 1940) The excavations at Kausambi have brought to light the impressive fortifications of the town famous in antiquity. The mounds of the ancient rampart describe a peripheral circuit of roughly four miles, and girdled by a moat, form a semi-circle with the Yamuna as the base (Sharma, G.R.: 1960). Eleven gateways, five of which were the principal ones, pierce the eastern, northern and western sides of the rampart, which was reinforced by a series of towers and salients at regular intervals (Sharma, G.R.: 1960). Incidentally, a passage of the Kathaka Upanisad uses ekadasadvara as an epithet of pura. Macdonell and Keith (1912) point out that the passage in question is metaphorical like another in the Svetasvatara Upanisad the number of gates depends on the nature of the body, and does not indicate the shape or size of cities.

They seem to forget that the metaphor would become inept and inaccurate, if the cities had invariably one gate only. The passages of the Satapatha Brahmana (xi-i-2-3) cited in their support do not necessarily prove that the city had one gate alone; they simply refer to an open or closed gate of the stronghold, and do not by any means preclude the possibility of more gates than one (A. Weber: 1855).

The first defences of Kausambi came into being in S.P. 1.3, two structural periods before the arrival of the Painted Grey Ware. 'A rampart of mud with sloping sides, revetted with a burnt brick wall battered back to about 30 to 40°, of which the courses are laid in the so called English bond, leaving footings in successive courses, reinforced by bastions and towers square in plan, are elements of construction strongly reminiscent of the Harappan citadel (Sharma, G.R.: 1960). The earliest moat was dug in SP. II.5, before the N.B.P. Ware made its appearance (Sharma, G.R.:1960). We may note here that the Satapatha Brahmana (VII.1.1.13).knows of the moat as part of the defence architecture. The defences from SP. I.3 up to SP. III.12, followed a similar pattern but during SP. III.ii, a curved entrance was constructed, enclosing a corbelled underground passage (Sharma, G.R.: 1960). The changes effected in the subsequent periods of rebuilding do not form part of the present study. The latest excavations at the site have, however, led to the discovery of a stone fortress-palace of the old kings of Kausambi (Indian Archaeology: 1960-61). Standing on the Yamuna in the south-west corner of the ancient [illegible] logy: 1953-54). Local tradition identifies the site with Girivraja,

walled city, the palace occupied an area of 1033 feet x 492 feet. The level of the area was raised by building a 8½ ft. high platform of mud-blocks and mud-bricks. The northern wall, about 427 feet in length and 19 feet in width, was built of stone set in lime of very fine quality (Indian Archaeology: 1960-61). The core consists of random rubble with well-dressed stones providing the facings of the two sides. This wall was joined at its eastern and western ends by two return walls, (Indian Archaeology:1960-61) and had a circular tower at each junction, with a rectangular one in the middle. The circular stone towers had a diameter of about 26 feet, and the central oblong tower, added later, measured about 15 feet, in width and depth (Indian Archaeology: 1960-61).

Three main stages of architectural evolution are discernible. The earliest building has nearly the same plan as the later ones, but the walls are built entirely of random rubble, huge stones being laid in line. The sides of the wall were possibly plastered. Diessed stones mark the second phase of constructional activity; and brick core and stone facings characterise the rebuilding of the third phase after an extensive destruction of the palace. The first structure antedates the N.B.P. Ware, and has been tentatively dientified with the palace of king Udayana and his descendants.

We must not fail to recall here the famous fortifications of Rajgir. The remains of the fortress may easily date back to the sixth century B.C., if not earlier still (Indian Archaeology: 1953-54). Local tradition identifies the site with Girivraja,

the capital of king Jarasandha according to the Mahabharata (2.18.30; 2:19). And the Buddhist texts tell us how king Bimbisara left the old city in order to build a new one at the foot of the hills. Girivraja, no doubt, belongs to the pre-Bimbisarian epoch of Indian history. The town nestled in the lap of an uneven valley with hills that served as walls on all sides. And this natural defence was further strenghened by artificial fortifications. Two lines of walls run round the city; the inner line measures 4½ miles in length, while the outer line goes up and down the Vaibharagiri, Sonagiri, Udayagiri, and along the southern range of the hills to Giriyak, and then back at intervals over Sailagiri Chathagiri, Ratnagiri and Vipulagiri. The faces of the walls are built of massive undressed stones between three and five feet in length, carefully fitted and bonded together, while the core between them is composed of smaller blocks carefully cut and laid with chips or fragments of stone packing the interstics between them (A.S.I. Annual Report: 1905-6)On the west of Sonagiri, and on the Vaibharagiri, Vipulagiri and Ratnagiri, the walls are much ruined and seldom rise higher than 7 or 8 feet. From the fact that whenever the height of between 11 and 12 feet is reached, the walls are invariably finished off with a course of small stones, and that there are no fallen blocks of stone lying near, we may assume that this was the original height of the massive masonry described above. Above this substructure, there was no doubt a superstructure composed either of smaller stone-work or of bricks baked or unbaked, or possibly of wood and stone or brick combined. The thickness of the fortifications on

the various hills varies from 14 feet to 17 feet and 6 inches. Bastions were added to the outside of the walls to reinforce them at important points. Sixteen of them have been discovered, but there may have been more. They are solid rectangular structures measuring in plan 47 to 60 feet long by 34 to 40 feet broad. Rising to the same height as the wall, they were doubtless provided with superstructures that have vanished with time (A.S.I. Annual Report: 1905-06). The outer walls are also characterised by stairs or ramps built in the thickness of the wall along its inner face, to provide access to the top. The nine ramps discovered so far measure roughly 5 feet 6 inches wide and 15 feet long.

Separate watch-towers erected at various prominent points on the hills, add to the efficacy of the defences. Two of these stand on the Vaibhara hill, four on the Vipula hill, and one on the eastern most peak of the Ratnagiri (ASI Annual Report: 1905-06). The defences of old Rajgir cannot fail to remind one of the chalcolithic fortresses of North-western India and testify to the sagacity and strategical considerations of the ancients in the choice of a suitable site. Was the prehistoric tradition continuous? The discoveries of the future will furnish a definitive answer.

G.R. Sharma explored the site of Unchadih between 20 to 30 miles east of Allahabad. He found clear traces of a fortified habitation 170x110 feet, with corner-towers- a miniature model of Kausambi. The rampart was 30 feet high and faced with bricks on the outer side. There were signs of a moat about 25 feet

wide, with watch-towers on its outer side. Unchadih has Painted Grey Ware of the Kausambi type, and a few specimens are identical with those associated with the early periods of the Kausambi defences (Indian Archaeology: 1959-60).

Eighteen miles to the south of Allahabad is the little fortified site of Bhita, about 400 yards square, which may have been the Vichi or Vicigrama mentioned on certain sealings found there. (Wheeler Sir M.: 1959). The presence of the N.B.P. Ware points to the antiquity of the site.

In the Bareilly district of U.P., the ruins of Ahicchatra, the capital of North Pancala in antiquity and mentioned in the Mahabharata, dominate the plain around with lofty ramparts $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit. Excavations in 1940-41 revealed two successive earthen ramparts below a stout wall of baked brick. Painted Grey Ware was found both below and within the earlier rampart, which can easily be placed earlier than the fifth century B.C. (Wheeler Sir M.: 1959).

Excavations at the Garh Kalika mound on the outskirts of Ujjain have laid bare the mud fortifications of the ancient town, flanked by a moat on two sides, and by the river Sipra on the other two. The colossal rampart is contemporaneous with the first period of the site's occupation, ascribed to c. 700-500B.C. (Indian Archaeology: 1957-58) A sherd of Painted Grey Ware found in the core of the rampart points to its possible associations with the users of that type (Indian Archaeology: 1956-57). The rampart encloses an area measuring roughly 1x¼ mile, and has a

maximum extant height of 42 feet (Indian Archaeology: 1956-57). Built of yellow and black earth with a gentle slope on the inner side, it was 245 feet broad at the base (Indian Archaeology: 1957-58). And a moat, excavated on the east and south, connected with the river on the north and west, provided a girdle of water as a further barrier (Indian Archaeology: 1956-57). The western or river-side wall was reinforced with wooden logs and sleepers during Pd. I itself, the fortifications there measuring more than 350 feet in breadth (Indian Archaeology: 1957-58).

Though the early Aryans were not used to city life, towns must have soon sprung up, nestling under the protection of their forts; we hear of Asandivant, Kampila, Ayodhya and Kausambi; and Panini refers to town-planning, forts and ramparts, moats, gates and watch-towers (Agrawala, V.S.: 1913). The evidence of archaeology allied to that of literature, proves beyond doubt the great burgeoning of civic life with regular defence structures in the Ganges valley and beyond, between c. 1000-300 B.C.

The Nikayas furnish a further corroboration of the Vedic and archaeological evidence. Walled and battlemented towns are now and then referred to in the discourses of the Buddha to provide glimpses of fortified defence lulling kings and their subjects into a repose of facied security. The Digha Nikaya (II-146) alludes to a border city defended by strong ramparts and towers, and provided with a single gate; a clever and expert watchman stationed by the king admits men only when they are well known, and refuses entry to all strangers. One gathers the impression

that strategic towns on the border were usually fortified, for they held the key to the interior of a kingdom. The Samyutta Nikaya (ii-182) speaks of a city with iron walls, while the Anguttara (iv-106) specifies the seven requisites of a fortress, as also the four kinds of supplies necessary for its maintenance. A pillar aloft in a king's citadel symbolises strength and stability; a road and a moat around the citadel make it more unassailable still while an armoury of swords and spears ensures the supply of weapons to the garrison, including elephant-drivers, horsemen, charioteers, bowmen, standard-bearers, billeting officers. soldiers of the supply corps, the king's sons, storm troops, warriors in cuirasses, and home-born slaves. The intelligent and resourceful gate-keeper keeps out all strangers; the rampart is high and wide, and covered with a coat of plaster. And great stores of grass, wood and water, rice and corn, sesame, beans, vetches and cereals, and medicines, including ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, sugar and salt, are vital to withstand the rigours of siege.

The Epics too, as one would expect, support and supplement the information derived from other sources. The Mahabharata refers to fortifications not infrequently, while the Rama-Ravana, story revolves round the siege of Lanka. Both vapra and caya occur in the Epic in the sense of earthern ramparts (Hopkins E.W.: 1889), but more elaborate citadels are not wanting. Thus the Adi parva (1.199.29) describes the town of Indraprastha, surrounded by a wide moat, lofty walls and numerous gates, each furnished with a couple of doors. An abundant stock of weapons promises

a stout defence; the battlements bristle with sharp hooks and satagnnis and other machines (yantra) of war; and the walls are manned along their length. Elsewhere, Narada asks Yudhisthira if his forts are provided with treasure, food, water, weapons and other contrivances of defence, as also with masons and bowmen (Mahabharat: 11-5-25).

The Aranyaka parva furnishes an interesting account of defence against siege (Mahabharata, 3-16-3). Gateways and pennons, walls and watch-towers, characterise the town of Dvaravati, fully provided with stocks of food, weapons and other devices for hurling fire and stone on the enemy. The tramp of the approaching enemy rouses the inmates to a sense of danger; all the mimes, dancers and singers are driven out of the city, and drinking is prohibited by proclamation in a bid to stamp out carelessness and frivolity Bridges (samkrama) are destroyed and boats forbidden to ply; trenches around the town are spiked with poles at the bottom, and the surrounding area rendered uneven and difficult of access. No one leaves or enters the town without giving the requisite sign (mudra). Such precautions are impressive even by modern standards. The enemy replies with a blockade of all the roads and passages leading to the town.

The Ramayana speaks of the firm gates of Ayodhya secured by cross-bars (argala). Kiskindhas golden gates, moat and citadel are also described. And the fortifications of Lanka are repeatedly mentioned. Hanuman tells Rama how Ravana's soldiers defend the city furnished with four huge gates and four bridges across the moat running round the town. The gates and bridges are provided

with the usual yantras and sataghnis. Hanuman adds that he has broken the bridges, covered the moat, set fire to Lanka, and dragged down the citadel. The use of fire in siegecraft is very important, and thatched roods were often plasted with mud to make them reasonably proof against that danger (Hopkins, E.W.: 1889).

We must make a due allowance for the exuberance of the poet and possible additions to the little details of the various passages; but the view that all the descriptions of solid walls and watch-towers to be found in the Epics are late interpolations, justifiable perhaps when it was formulated (Hopkins E.W.:1889) has clearly had its day. Hopkings says that the Ramayana contains not exact descriptions of fortifications, but standing epithets and set formulae applied to the various towns in the text with but slight modifications (Hopkins E.W.:1889). It may indeed be perfectly true that the poet followed a fixed pattern in describing the cities figuring in a story; but it does not follow that a model never existed, and that solid walls and bastions found their way into the Epics only at a later day. Words are superfluous; the evidence of archaeology brooks no refutation. We now know that both earthwork fortifications and masonry walls defended the Indian towns of old, long before the rise of the Epics, and indeed continued to do so right into the modern period (Indian Archaeology: 1956-57).

Elephants were used for battering down walls and gatways, as we know from their epithet purabhettarah (Mahabharata, 2.54.10) The yantras so often described were presumably arrow-and-stone

scattering contrivances. While some of these yantras were furnished with bowstrings, others may have been catapults. In the Epics, however, these mechanisms do not seem to play and significant part commensurate with their prominence in the accounts of fortifications. They do not inflict damage serious enough to deserve specific mention or affect the outcome of battle.

7.3: FORTS AND STRONG-HOLDS IN THE 4th CENTURY B.C.

The classical chronicles make it evident that when Alexander invaded India in the 4th century B.C., forts and strong-holds held by Hindu chiefs were scattered thickly over the country. The capital of almost every state, however small, appears to have been fortified with defensive works of varying solidity. Where the ground offered natural barriers, full advantage of these was taken. Such, for instance, were Massaga or Mazaga, Bazira, Aornos etc. With regard to Massaga, Curtius supplies us with an elaborate description of the defences with which both nature and man had provided the city. "An army of 38,000 infantry", he says, "defended the city which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. For on the east, an impetuous mountain-stream with steep banks on both sides barred approach to the city, while to the south and west nature, as if designing to form a rampart, had piled up gigantic rocks, at the base of which lay sloughs and jawning chasms hollowed in the course of ages to vast depths, while a ditch of mighty labour drawn from their extremity continued the line of defence. The city was besides surrounded witha wall of 35 stadia in circumference which had a basis of stonework supporting a

a superstructure of unburnt, sundried bricks. The brickwork was bound into a solid fabric by means of stones so interposed that the more brittle material rested upon the harder, while moist clay had been used for mortar. Lest, however, the structure should all at once sink, strong beams had been laid upon these, supporting wooden floors which covered the walls and afforded a passage along them (McCindle, J.W.: 1896)eminence and was strongly fortified in every quarter (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896). Aornos, again, was a place of extra-ordinary strategic strength, but does not appear to have had any artificial fortifications. Arrian says that the 'rock' had a circuit of about 200 stadia, and at its lowest elevation a height of eleven stadia. "It was ascended by a single path cut by the hand of man, yet difficult. On the summit of the rock there was, it is said, plenty of pure water which gushed out from a copious spring. There was timber besides, and as much good arable land as required for its cultivation the labour of a thousand men (McCrindle, J.W.:1896). Diodorus describes the rock as a natural stronghold, 100 stadia in circumference, 16 stadia in height, and with a level surface forming a complete circle. The Indus washed its foot on the south; elsewhere it was surrounded by deep ravines and inaccessible cliffs (McCrindle J.W.: 1896). Sir Aurel Stein, who has successfully located Aornos on the rock-girt site adjoining Mount Una, observes: "The preciptous nature of that slope would lend itself to easy and effective defence, in particular by rolling down large stones, a formidable method of defence the actual use of which Curtius here specially mentions (Stein Sir Aurel: 1929).

But towns which were not so favoured by nature were not left at the mercy of every invading or marauding band from outside. Nearly all of them were surrounded with defensive works, the size and character of which depended upon the situation, probable exposure to attack, and the wealth of the inhabitants. For instance, Arrian tells us that the city of the Aspasioi was encompassed by a double line of walls. The outer wall "was but rudely constructed, but the inner wall was remarkable strong (McCrindle, J.W.:1896). With regard to Sangala, the capital of the Cathaeans, the same writer says that it was "strongly fortified", and that its walls were of brick (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896). Similarly most of the towns in the territory of the Malloi and the Oxydrakoi were well fortified. Arrian speaks of the capital of the Malloi as "the strongest of all the cities that lay near". The city was defended by walls, and within them there was a citadel with gates, towers and parapet (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896) About another of their towns, indentified by Cunningham with Kot-Kamalia, a small but ancient town situated on an isolated mound on the northern bank of the Ravi (Cunningham Sir Alexander: 1871) we are informed that it was not only defended by a wall, but had within it a citadel, "seated on a commanding height and difficult of access (McCrindle, J.W.: 1896). The classical authors mention a third Malloi city, identified by Cunningham with Tulamba, which was defended by brick walls and enormous mounds of earthen ramparts (McCrindle J.W.: 1896).

Other fortified cities in the Punjab and Sind, referred to by classical writers, were the capital of the Brahmanas (McCrindle J.W.: 1896) Sindimana, the capital of Sambos (McCrindle

J.W.: 1896) the city in which Proticanus, king of Praesti, shut himself up, (McCrindle J.W.: 1896) and the capital of Sophytes (McCrindle J.W.: 1896). Far the east, in the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Son and the Gangaes, was the city of Palibothra, Palimbothra or Pataliputra, the capital of Magadha. In the time of Megasthenes, it was considered to be by far "the largest city in India"- a long, narrow parallelogram in shape, measuring about nine and one-fifth miles in length and one and a half miles in breadth. It was not defended by any brick wall, but by a massive wooden palisade, pierced by sixty-four gates and crowned by five hundred and seventy towers. The palisade had loop-holes for the archers to shoot through, and outside there was a ditch, 30 cubits deep and 400 cubits (6 plethra) broad. The ditch was filled from the waters of the Son (McCrindle J.W.: 1896).

It is important to take note of two salient facts in the above account. First, though cities were surrounded with various defensive works, there was no uniformity in their character. As before stated, the character of defensive works depended on various factors, such as the situation of the city, probable exposure to attack and the wealth of the inhabitants. In this connection it is worth recalling a statement recorded by Arrian regarding Indian cities of this age. He says that those Indian towns "which are down beside the river or the sea are made of wood; for towns built of brick would never hold out for any length of time with the rains on the one hand, and, on the other, the rivers which rise above their banks and spread a sheet of water over the plains. But the

towns which are built on elevated places out of reach of these are made of brick and lime. This will explain why the defensive works round Pataliputra, the capital of a far-flung and prosperous empire, were built of timber and not of brick, as certain cities in the northwest appear to have been. Secondly, it is important to note that the age witnessed a significant development in the history of military architecture in India. Most of the towns mentioned above were defended by means of surrounding walls, but in some cases, as a measure of additional protection, strongly-fortified citadels were added within the walls. It will appear from a careful perusal of the texts that the citadel was built in one corner of the town- usually in the part which was most secure and well-defended- and that a continuation of the town wall formed its outer side. The citadel served as the ultimate refuge of the besieged, when the outer defences of the town were captured or destroyed by the assailing force. It was the last resort to which the garrison retired in desperate extremity.

7.4 KAUTILYA'S CONCEPTION OF FORTIFICATION

Nowhere perhaps are the ancient Hindu ideas on fortification better delineated than in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. In common with his predecessors in the field of political speculation, Kautilya considered the fort as one of the seven constituent elements of the state. Doubtless it was not the most important, but it was more important than the treasury, the friend and the army itself (Kautilya Arth.:1919). "For, it is in the fort that the treasury and the army are safely kept, and it is from the fort that

secret war (intrigue), control over one's partisans, the upkeep of the army, the reception of allies and the driving out of enemies are successfully practised. In the absence of forts, the treasury is to the enemy, for it seems that for those who own forts, there is no destruction (Kautilya Arth.: 1919). Elsewhere he says that "the haven of the king and of his army is a strong fort (Kautilya Arthl: 1919).

With these preliminary remarks about the importance of fortifications, Kautilya next goes on to classify forts on the basis of their location. In his view, forts might be classified under four principal heads, viz. paravata (hill fort), audaka (water fort), dhanavna (desert fort), and vanadurga (forest fort). He defines a hill fort as one which is either perched on a rocky precipice (prastaram) or built in a valley in the midst of an encircling range of hills (guha). A water fort, he says, may be situated on an island in the midst of a river (antardvipam), or on a plain surrounded by low ground or morass in which water is stagnated (nimnavaruddham sthalam). Similarly a forest fort is either encompassed by many bogs and fens, interspersed with trees and bushes (khazjanodakam), or is girt by thickly-set sall with undergrowth (stambagaham). Finally, a desert fort is one which is located either in the centre of a wild tract devoid of water or even of thickets (nirudaka-stambam), or in a region sterilised by desert salt (irina) (Kautilya Asth.: 1919).

Of these different varieties, Kautilya gives his preference to hill-forts and considers them as the most unassailable.

In Bk. VII, ch. 12, for instance, he says: "Of forts such as a fort on the plain, in the centre of a river and on a mountain, that which is mentioned later is of more advantage than the one previously mentioned (Kautilya Arth.: 1919). In a earlier chapter (ch. 10) of the same Bk., he explains the reasons which led him to this view. "Of two fortified kings," he says, "one who has his forts on a plain is more easily reduced than the other owning a fort in the centre of a river, for a fort in a plain can be easily assailed, destroyed or captured along with the enemy in it, whereas a fort surrounded by a river requires twice as much effort to capture, and supplies the enemy with water and other necessaries of life". Again. "Of two kings, one owning a fort surrounded by a river, and another having mountainous fortifications, seizing the former's land is better, for a fort in the centre of a river can be assailed by a bridge formed of elephants made to stand in a row in the river, or by wooden bridges, or by means of boats; and the river will not always be deep and can be emptied of its water, whereas a fort on a mountain is of a self-defensive nature, and not easy to besiege or to ascend; and where if one portion of the army defending it is routed out, the other portions can escape unhurt, and such a fort is of immense service, as it affords facilities to throw down heaps of stone and trees over the enemy". (Kautilya Arth.: 1919).

With this estimate of the relative value of forts, Kautilya asks the ruler to create defensive works "on all the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom", "on grounds naturally best fitted for the purpose (Kautilya Arth: 1919). But apart

from these, the king must have in the centre of his kingdom, "in a locality naturally best fitted for the purpose, such as the bank or the confluence of rivers, a deep pool of perennial water or of a lake or tank",- a fortfied capital. This might be of any shape, circular, rectangular or square, in consonance with the requirements of the ground. It has to be surrounded by three successive ditches, the first 84 feet (14 dandas), the second 72 feet (12 dandas) and the third 60 feet (10 dandas) wide "with depth less by one-quarter or one-half of their width". The sides of the ditches were to be built of stones or bricks (pasanopahitah pasanestaka-baddha-parsvan), and they were to be filled with perennial flowing water drawnfrom some neighbouring river. Crocodiles and lotus plants were to be nurtured in the ditches so that no enemy could swim across them with impunity.

At a distance of 24 feet from the inner-most ditch, a rampart (vapra) 36 feet high and twice as broad, is to be erected "by heaping mud upwards and by making it square at the bottom, oval at the centre, pressed by the trampling of elephants and bulls". Gaps in the rampart must be filled up with fresh earth. The intervening space between the rampart and the ditch is to be strewn with throny bushes, sharp instruments and entanglements of various kinds.

Above the rampart are to be erected walls or parapets (prakara), built of brick. They might be of any number, with a space of 12 to 24 cubits between them; and they should be twice as high as they are broad. The parapets are to be interspersed

at regular intervals with towers or bastions (attalaka), square throughout and provided with movable staircases.

"In the intermediate space measuring 30 dandas between two towers, there shall be formed a broad street in two compartments covered with a roof and two and a half times as long as it is broad". This street appears to have been intended for patrol of the sentinels, protected overhead by the roofs. The bifurcation of the street is for facilitating the double movements, forward and backward, of the guards on duty. "Between the tower and the broad street shall be constructed an Indrakosa, which is made up by covering pieces of perforated wooden planks affording seats for three archers". The entrance gate to the fort should be "one-sixth as broad as the width of the street", and above the gateway should be constructed a turret, its face resembling a large lizzard. Besides the main gate, there must also be special secret passages for flight or exit in an unassailable part of the rampart.

In addition to the above, the author gives other details regarding the construction of roads and buildings within the fort, He also speaks of the construction of canals (kulya) to hold weapons. "In these canals, there shall be collected stones, spades (kuddala), axes (kuthari), varieites of staffs, cudgels (musrnthi)k hammers (mudgara), clubs, discus, machines (yantra), and such weapons as can destroy a hundred persons at once (satagni), together with spears, tridents, bamboo-sticks with pointed edges made of iron, camel-necks, explosives (agni-samyogas) and whatever, else can be devised and formed from available materials (Kautilya

Arth.: 1919). In the chapter on the Superintendent of Armoury (Bk. II, ch. 18), he gives a list of various immovable machines (sthira-yantra), which from the commentator's explanation appear to have been specially stored in forts to repulse assaults upon them. He further recommends that articles of food, fodder and fuel should be "stored (in the fort) in such quantities as can be enjoyed for years together without feeling any want". "Of such collection", he adds, "old things shall be replaced by new ones when received" (Kautilya Arth.: 1919).

7.5: FORTS AND STRONG-HOLDS FROM THE GUPTA PERIOD ONWARDS

The foregoing account will serve as an illustration of the typical ideas on fortification as they had developed in India till the time of Kautilya. To what extent, and in what respects, these ideas were altered or modified in the light of later experience, we have no means of knowing. During the next thousand years or more, there were no great inventions or mechanical developments to make any sudden changes in the art of war or any of its branches. One is, therefore, justified in inferring that such changes as did occur in the art of fortification were evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The evidence of the Chinese pilgrims and of the early Muslim chroniclers points to the conclusion that the character of the permaent defences constructed around cities remained in general unchanged during this period, although there was perhaps a gradual increase in the size of the walls and in the dimensions of the ditches, in order to combat the growing

efficiency of siege machinery. It is probable also that there were improvements in the height and strength of the towers, and of other arrangements for protecting the ditches along the weaker portions of the wall- that is, the curtains between the towers.

But the chief note in the history of military architecture of this period was the increased tendency to construct hill forts. This was in consonance with the teachings of Kautilya and other military writers. The typical site preferred for a hill fortress was a preciptous cliff sloping to a river on one, two or even three sides and with steep slopes falling away on the other side. At the highest point was built a fort serving as a citadel (Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India: 1905). Some of these were like eagles nests no lofty cliffs, places of last refuge rather than strategical positions. But others were of real strategical strength, commanding the countryside or the approaches to a state. Muhammadan historians acknowledge the Sultan Mahmud could not accomplish his design of conquering Kashmir owing to the impregnable nature of the fortress s of Rajagiri and Lahur, described by Beruni as "the two strongest places I have ever seen (Sachan: 1901). It is also a matter of common knowledge that the eight forts of Bundelkhand, along with the natural ruggedness of the country, long enabled the rulers of this territory- first the Candellas and later the Bundelas- to maintain their independence against powerful foreign invaders.

Of the numerous hill fortresses established in Northern India during the last five or six centuries of our period, the

most celebrated at the time of the Muhammadan invasions were Kalinjar (Kalanjar), Gwalior, Ajayagarh and Maniyagarh in Central India; Chitorgarh, Ranthombhor and Mandor in Rajputana; Bhira (Bhatia) and Kangra (Nagarkot, Bhimnagar, etc.) in the Punjab; and Laharokotta, Banasala and Sirahsila in Kashmir. It is noteworthy that the early Muhammadan historians have referred to some tof these forts in terms of enthusiastic admiration. In connection with the fortress of Kalinjar, for instance, Hasan Nizami says that it was "celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander (Elliot:1772). The same writer describes the fort of Gwalior as "the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach.and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds have never cast theirshade". 'Utbi refers to the fort of Bhatia as follows: "The walls of which the wings of an eagle could not surmount, and which was surrounded as by the ocean with a ditch of exceeding depth and breadth". Regarding the fort of Ranthombhor again, Minhajus Siraj says that it "is celebrated in all parts of Hindustan for its great strength and security. It is related in Hindu histories that it had been invaded by more than seventy kings, and no one had been able to take it (Elliot: 1872).

But beyond vague generalisations and hyperboles, the Muhammadan historians give us no useful details as to the manner in which these hill forts were originally constructed. Nor can we know these details from other sources. This is chiefly because some of these forts have now disappeared, others are lying in

rolling heaps of brick debris, while the few which are still standing have been so completely transformed during the Middle Ages as to retain little of their original character. Unfortunately, moreover, the military architecture of this period has received comparatively little attention from archaeologists, and the data at present available are not sufficient to enable us to discriminate with confidence between successive periods of building, or to determine which parts are attributable to the Hindu founders and which to the Muhammadan dynasties that followed them (Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India: 1905).

Owing to this two-fold difficulty, we can only guess the outline of these structures as they originally stood. They were usually constructed by running massive stone walls round the summit or top contour of the hills. The walls, built of large blocks of stone, laid without cement, usually rose from the very edge of the hill, being a continuation of the scarp of the rock. Occasionally, too, walls of masonry appear to have been erected to guard against access at places where the difficulties of the ascent in its natural state might possibly be overcome. The walls were further strengthened by bastions or towers constucted at irregular intervals (Rajputana Gazetteer:1908). But whatever their original character, these hill forts were looked upon as the best that the engineering skill of the age could produce. In contemporary estimation they were well-nigh impregnable. This need not cause any surprise. A hill with steep sides might be easily made unapproachable by such cumbrous structures as towers and rats, while the height of the

hill, added to the height of the walls, would be too much for besiegers' missiles. If the sides of the hill were preciptous and rocky, mining became impossible and the site was perfect for defence

Despite this general preference for hill forts, the old practice of creating defensive works around cities in the plains was continued. The account of Hiuen Tsiang, the Chachnama and other early Muhammadan chronicles go to show that towns, even of a small size, were often enclosed by walls. The most celebrated of these walled towns in northern India at the time of Muhammadan invasion were Delhi, Kanauj, Ajmir, Multan, Jalor (Jalewar), Asni, Thangar, Kol, Meerut (Mirat) etc. The Muhammadan historians have referred to the fortifications of these cities in general terms. Thus Delhi is described as "among the chief (mother) cities of Hindu", consisting of "a fortress which in height and breadth had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes". Kanauj is said to have had seven detached forts. The fort of Ajmir, "one of the most celebrated in Hind", is spoken of as enclosed with four walls. Regarding Multan, Idrisi says that it was large city commanded by a citadel, which had four gates and was surrounded by a moat. Kizwini speaks of the city ad "large, fortified and impregnable" (Elliot: 1772). Jalor (Jalewar) is described as a strong fort with gates and bastions, and Thangar as a "fortress which assembled a hill of iron [illegible] (Elliot: 1772). [illegible] Vilanam is referred to as [illegible] in the Nedara [illegible] plates of the early Pandya king, Nedunjadaiyan (Jatilavarman) "which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding [illegible]

It must not be supposed for a moment that these walled towns over the entire country. Some of them in Kathiawad and

Gujarat have been described by Mr. Altekar (1927) Mr. V. Kanakasabhai has likewise described the fortifications of certain ancient towns of the Tamil land, such as Uraiyur, Madura, Banchi or Karur Kanappar and Pakadur. We are told, for instance, that Madura was a fortified city. "There were four gates to the fort, surmounted by high towers, and outside the massive walls which were built of rough-hewn stone was a deep moat, and surrounding the moat was a thick jungle of thorny trees. The roads leading to the gates were wide enough to permit several elephants to pass abreast, and on the walls on both sides of the entrance there were all kinds of weapons and missiles concealed, ready to be discharged on an enemy. Likewise, Vanchi was also "strongly fortified, and on the battlements were mounted various engines to throw missiles on those who attacked the fort. Over the gates in the walls were towers plastered with white mortar and adorned with flags. Surrounding the walls was a broad moat in which man-eating alligators of large size abounded. Contemporary epigraphic records also throw light on the defences of a few cities. For instance Kanci or Kancipura, the Pallava capital, is thus described in one inscription: "Whose high walls were insurmountable, and hard to be broken, which was surrounded by a huge moat that was unfathomable and hard to be crossed, and which resembled the girdle of the southern region. The Gadral plates of Vikramaditya I refer to the city in almost similar terms. Again, the town of Vilanam is referred to as follows in the Madras Museum plates of the early Pandya king, Nedunjadaiyan (Jatilavarman) "Which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding

sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is (as strong as) the fort in the beautiful (island of) Ilangai (Lanka) (Epigraphic Indica: 1872).

It is perhaps clear from the above- and this is also the testimony of archeology- that to the last days of our period, the wall with towers remained the leading idea of fortification. The towers provided flanking fire along the front; they also afforded refuges for the garrison in case of a successful escalade, and from them the platform could be easily enfiladed. Usually, too, but not invariably, the wall was reinforced by a detch, which had three advantages; in increased the height of the obstacle, made the bringing up of the engines of attack more difficult, and supplied material for the filling of the wall.

7.6: SIEGECRAFT

The military science of ancient India seems to have been more skilful in defence than in attack. The fortresses of the age could usually withstand the most powerful siege weapons known to the people. Of the tools of siegecraft but little is known. It is probable that the use of scaling ladders and battering rams was known though there is no clear evidence to prove this (Kautilya Arth.:1919). Further, elephants were occasionally employed to batter in the gates of a fort. As stated before, ancient military writers considered this as one of the most important functions of war-elephants. Both Sanskrit and Tamil literature contain allusions to this mode of siegecraft. In the Mahabharata, for instance, elephants have been described as pura-bhettarah

(town-breakers). The Tamil poetess Avvaiyar speaks of 'brigades of war elephants', 'with their tusks blunted by battering they enemy's forts (McCrindle J.W.: 1882).

Another device occasionally employed was mining. In Bk. XIII, ch. 4 of the Arthasastra, while describing the various devices by which an enemy fort could be captured, Kautilya remarks that a besieging king "may assail the rampart and parapets by making use of undergroun tunnels and iron rods". But it does not seem that mining ever came into general vogue. It is probable that as most of the Indian fortresses were built on high ground or upon a foundation of solid rock, mining was considered entirely useless as a tool of siege-craft. But the word surunga with its military implication continued to be known, and ultimately passed over into Hindi vocabulary. The ordinary Hindi word for a mine is surang and surang urana is to spring a mine (Irvine, W.:1903).

The use of fire, too, for the reduction of a fortified place was not unknown. On this Kautilya supplies us with the following account: "Having captured the birds, such as vulture, crow, naptr, bhasa, parrot, maina, and pigeon, which have their nests in the fort walls, and having tied to their tails inflammable powder (agniyoga), he may let them fly to the forts, If the camp is situated at a distance from the fort and is provided with an elevated post for archers and their flags, then the enemy's fort may be set on fire. Spies, living as watchemn of the fort, may tie inflammable powder to the tails of mungooses, monkeys, cats and dogs and let them go over the thatched roofs of the houses.

A splinter of fire kept in the body of a dried fish may be caused to be carried off by a monkey, or a crow, or any other bird (to the thatched roofs of the houses) (Kautilya Arth.:1919). The author further describes the infredients of which various inflammable compounds might be prepared and utilised for setting fire to an enemy fort. But he concludes with the following salutary advice: "When a fort can be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to set fire to it; for fire cannot be trusted; it not only offends gods, but also destroys the people, grains, cattle, gold, raw materials and the like. Also the acquisition of a fort, with its property all destroyed, is a source of further loss (Kautilya Arth: 1919). His advice, however, did not always restrain belligerents from resorting to this infamous method. Both literature and inscriptions record instances of towns and fortified places being burnt down by ruthless conquerors. Thus in an inscription of the 29th year of Rajaraja the Great, (dated 1047 A.D.), it is recorded that the Cola monarch set fire to Kollippak, (42 miles from Secunderbad in the Nizam's dominions), one of the capitals of Jayasimha. The Pithapuram pillar inscription of Mallapadeva (saka 1124) states that Gunaga-Vijayaditya of the Eastern Calukya dynasty burnt down a place called Cakrakuta (probably the same as Cakrakotta, which appears to have been situated in the dominions of the king of Dhara, the capital of Malava). Kalhana (VII.766-772) records how Vijayamalla, a brother to king Utkarsa, invested a fortified place and burnt "the houses with his troops, who had fixed fire-brands at the points of their darts". Elsewhere (VIII, 971-1004) the same author describes with harrowing details

how during the reign of Gussala, the Damaras set fire to the famous temple of Cakradhara, in which many people of the neighbourhood "with their women, children, animals, rich stores and property sought an asylum".

But the most usual method employed to get over the resistance of a fortress was by strict investment and starving out. The besiegers tried to cut off the besieged from communication with the outside world and thus to prevent them from receiving reinforcements or supplies and to make them dependent upon such stores as they may have been able to lay in beforehand, or might be able to produce within the town. In the Maha-Ummagga Jataka there is a very realistic description of how king Culani-Brahmadatta besieged the capital of the king of Videha and sought to capture the city by cutting off its water supply. A strict and protracted blockade often led to the starvation of the garrison, and starvation in its turn to surrender. In the Chachnama it is related that Rai Chach conquered the fort of Pabiya by following this method. "The chief of the place (Pabiya) gave battle, but after great fighting and bloodshed, the king of Pabiya fled and entered the fort. Rai Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass and wood and fuel were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of the night". The Rajatarangini also provides us with several instances of this sort.

When king Harsa (1089-1101 A.D.), for instance, laid siege to the fort of Prthvigiri he sought to starve out the garrison. "When he had stopped there for more than a month, the defenders of the fort became distressed owing to their food and other supplies being exhausted. How large were not the tribute and supplies which king Samagramapala offered in order to save that garrison?" Harsa was obstinate and rejected those offers. Thereupon the besieged chieftain bribed an officer of the hostile army, who instigated the soldiers to claim a marching allowance and thus fall into disorder, and at the same time spread a false and alarming report of an attack from the Turuskas. Harsa was thus compelled to raise the siege and march off. On another occasion an attempt to take the fort of Dugdhaghata by starvation was frustrated by a sudden fall of snow. But the investment of the castle of Sirahsila by Dhanya was more successful. At the outset Dhanya took up his position on the bank of the Madhumati, near Sardi. And "though the troops thus stoutly kept their ground for three or four months, yat they were unable to seize those who were in the castle, because no such acts of hostility, as the cutting off of food supplies by means of an investment were undertaken, which might have reduced those arrogant (opponents) to straits". But Dhanya soon perceived this loophole and, moving his troops closer to the castle occupied its main approach. Here he fortified his position, and constructing a line of block-houses round the castle-ridge from the south, effectually cut off the besieged rebels from the scanty supplies they were previously able to collect from the neighbouring hamlets. "Then unceasing encounters ensued at every moment in which both sides a

lost countless men .... Those in the castle were few, while those in the (besieging) camp were many. Hence the former, though they killed many, were easily made to suffer. After the castle had been harassed with two or three assaults, it appeared with the closed folds of its gates as if shutting its eyes from fear. Those in the castle lost their confidence when they saw that Dhanya and other (ministers) were tryingto win over the guards, create internal dissension and otherwise take advantage of a weak point. At night they did not sleep but shouted to each other to keep themselves awake. In the day-time, again, when they slept, they made the castle appear silent and deserted. Even the sound of the kettle-drums (beaten) by the several corps between the night-watchs, made them tremble at night, as the thunder (makes tremble) the sparrows in the hollows of the trees. The royal troops kept them in excitement day and night by all possible means and blocked (their access to) the water by boats which were moving about. Cut off from the river, they put up somehow with the pain of thirst, but they became disheartened when their foodsupply became exhausted owing to their inability to get outside. Thus cut off from supplies, and deprived of water, the Damara lord of the castle agreed through messengers "to sell the king's enemies".

As the investment of a fortress did not in general consist of anything beyond a blockade, sieges were often long and protracted. It is stated in the Chachnama that the siege of Akhan Lohana by Rai Chach "lasted for the period of one year". After the first battle of Tarain in 1191 A.D. the Rajputs under

Prthviraj laid siege to the fort of Sarhind; but it took them thirteen months to compel the garrison to capitulate.

The methods of repelling a siege or assualt must have varied from age to age, and to some extent, from locality to locality. The Santiparva enjoins that on the occasion of a siege all thatch-covered houses within the fort should be plastered with mud as a portection against fire. According to Kautilya, all possible impediments were bo be placed before the enemy to prevent a close investment. Grass and firewood round the fortress were to be set on fire and destroyed as far as a yojana (five and five-fortyfourth miles); all water channels or pools were also to be either destroyed or vitiated, and a system of secret wells, hidden pits and barbed iron cords should be devised all around the fort (Kautilya Arth.:1919). From his chapter on Ayudhagaradhyaksa (Bk. II, ch. 18) it appears that heavy, immovable machines, worked by mechanical power, were placed over the gates and walls, kept in readiness for projecting large shafts at the foe or dumping rocks upon them. But the evidence of the early Muhammadan chroniclers proves that either these machines were crude and ineffective or that in general and except for the arrows, stones and other missiles thrown from the walls against the attackers, the defenders trusted rather to the size and strength of their walls and tried little in the way of an active defence.

As against mining, the best device which the besieged could employ was to countermine, and then attack the diggers below

ground, drive them back, and fill up the hole they had excavated. The term for the countermine was prati-surunga. We have the following account in the Arthasastra as to how and when it was to be constructed. "When the enemy attempts to dig an underground tunnel for the capture of the fort, the besieged should dig a ditch inside the walls so deep as to make water come out of the earth. If the digging of a ditch is considered impracticable, a number of wells may be constructed along the walls. In suspicious places along the parapet, empty pots or bronze vessels may be placed in order to find out the direction in which a tunnel is being dug by the enemy. When the direction of the tunnel is discovered, a counter-tunnel should be constructed; or having made a hollow passage to the tunnel, it may be filled with poisonous smoke or water (Kautilya Arth:1919).

When the fort was on an eminence and stones were available in plenty, these latter were stored and rolled down the slopes upon the besiegers. As already mentioned, one of the reasons which Kautilya adduces in favour of hill-forts was the enormous advantage of this method of defence. We find an early instance of this kind in the defence of Aornos against Alexander. Curtius says: "As the barbarians rolled down massive stones upon them while they climbed, such as were struck fell headlong from their insecure and slippery positions (McCrindle J.W.: 1896). The chronicle of Kalhana shows that in Kashmir, where fortresses were almost invariably constructed on hills, this was a favourite mode of defence. In connection with the siege of Dugdhaghata (VII, 1181), for instance, we are told that the defenders (Darad soldiers) "threw down big boulders and other missiles" on their assailants. A more detailed account of the

use and effect of this mode of defence is given in connection with the siege of Sanasala. The royal troops were throwing stones from catapults, showers of arrows and various (other) missiles. And those in the castle defended themselves by rolling down stones. The royal army, though large, could not attack those in the castle, while stones were falling and arrows marked with Bhisu's name .... Notwithstanding their great number they were so repulsed by the hail of stones from those (in the castle) that they became convinced of this (undertaking) not being achievable by sheer prowess. The heads which the stones carried off from the bodies of brave soldiers, appeared, with their streams of blood, like beehives, (thrown down by stone-hits) from the tops of trees with bees rising from them".

7.7: <u>BIG FORTS OR FORTIFIED PLACES IN BUNDELKHAND</u>

Forts constituted one of the most important elements of the early medieval state; and ancient authorities have stressed their necessity and importance at length.

The importance of the forts of Kalanjara Ajaygadh, Barigarh, Mamiyagarh, Morpha, Maudhagarha, Mahiyar in the Chandela state is clearly evident from its political history. The whole history of the dynasty has centred round the historic fort of Kalanjara and to a lesser degree, the fort of Ajaygadh.Time and again the fortune of the dynasty depended on the possession of Kalanjara. The extraordinary importance of forts in the Chandela state was due to the geographical situation of the country and

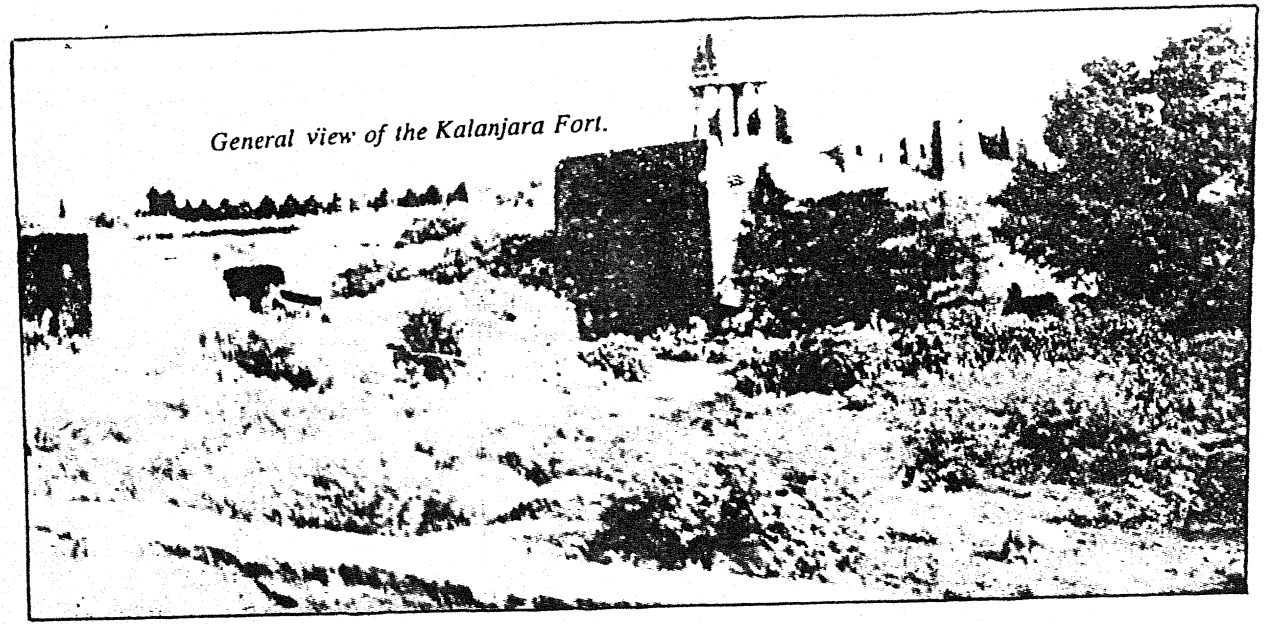
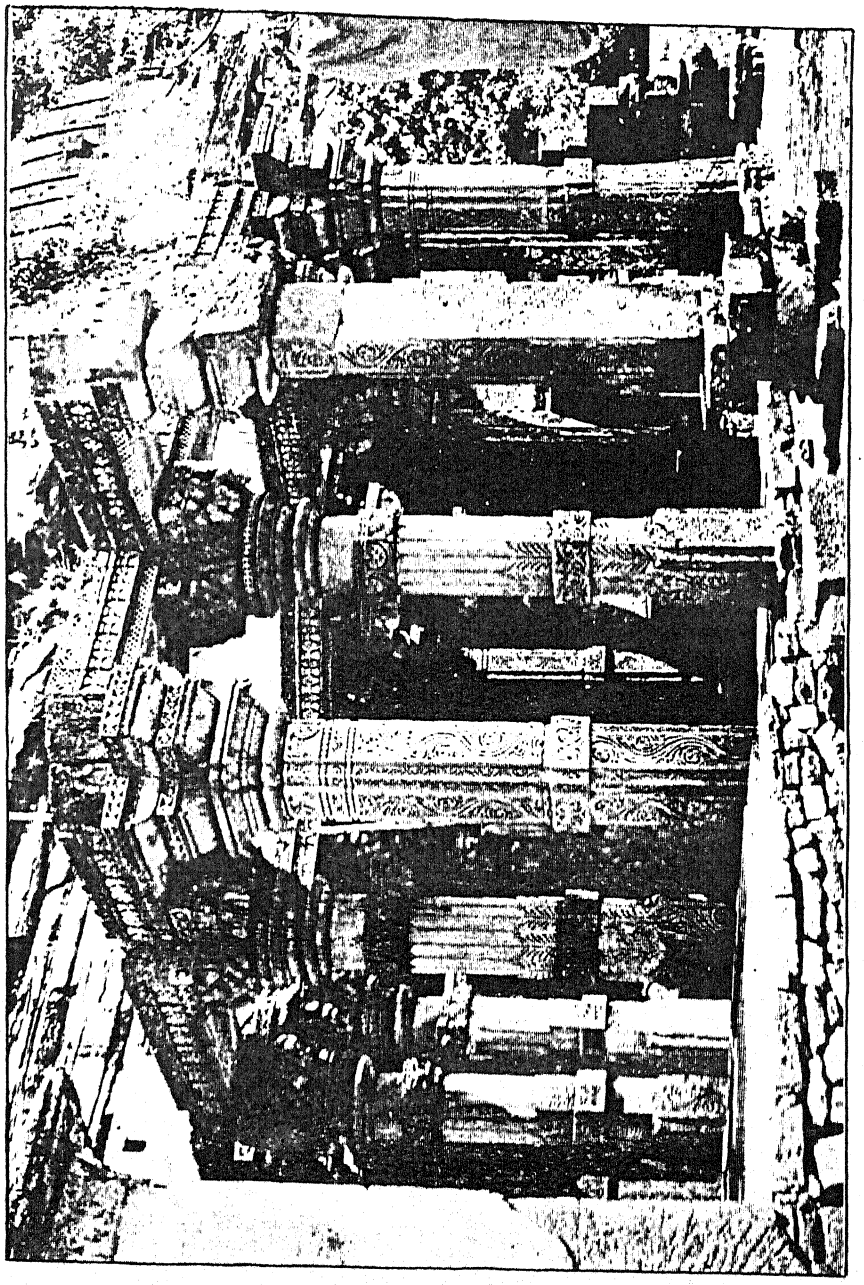


FIG: 7.1

the method of warfare followed in that period. Dr. P.V.Kane (1941) rightly observes that "the capital mirrored the prosperity of the country and if properly walled also provided security. Central India is mountainous, crossed by the ranges of the Vindhyas, Bhaurer, and Kaimur and the whole region is interlaced with innumerable rivers. The mountain fortresses of Kalanjara Ajaygadh, Mahoba and other provided security for the state and its people and made access to the heart of the country very difficult. So the Physical features of the country gave unusual importance to the construction and maintenance of forts in the Chandela kingdom and hence the kings paid much attention to this aspect of administration and national security. The Ajaygadh stone inscription of Viravarman praised Trailokyavarman as a very creator in providing strong places 'Durga Pravidhanaveda R) (Epigraphic Indica: 1,327). A minister of Kirtivarman is recorded to have built the fort of Kirtigiri (Indian Antiquary XVIII, 238, 239).

The fort were governed by an officer appointed by the king. The Ajaygadh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman states that one Ananda, born in the vastaya kayastha family of Tajuka, was appointed by Trailokyavarman as the governor of the fort of Jayapura (Durgadhikari). Ananda is credited for reducing to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Savaras and Pulindas (Epigraphic Indica: 1,334).

Mahesvara, an ancestor of the same family, was thoroughly familiar with every branch of letter and possessed



Octagonal pillars of Neelkantha Mandapa, Kalanjaru.

FIG: 7·2

many other good qualities. After serving Kirtivarman, he received the title of Visisa of Kalanjara along with the grant of a village from the king. (Epigraphic Indica: 1,333). Ananda's elder brother was called vase for his exallent qualities and "the minds of the people as well as that of king Trailokyavarman were about to prove submissive to him. Considering him competent for the work, Trailokyavarman appointed him in the office of visisa over the fort named Jaya, and gave him a village for ever. Vase built a beautiful temple and a tank. He is also praised for defeating and killing Bhojuka, an enemy of Trailokyavarman (Epigraphic Indica: 1,334).

The office of Visisa is not known to have been found in the inscriptions of any other dynasty. Dr. Ray believes it to be an administrative post, but he does not offer any suggestion as to the exact nature and duties of this officer (Ray, H.C.:1936). The Visisa does not seem to have been a civil officer for both Mahesvara and vase were appointed Visisas of the forts of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh and not of any administrative divisions. The Visisa cannot have been the governor of the fort, because the same inscription specifically mentions Anand (Vare's brother) as the Durgadhikari of Ajaygadh fort. Dr. Altekar believes that in ancient Indian states there was probably an inspector-general of forts at the capital (Altekar: A.S.: 1934). The Visisas of the Ajaygadh inscription may have had some such office, but on the other hand vase appears to have been appointed over one fort only.

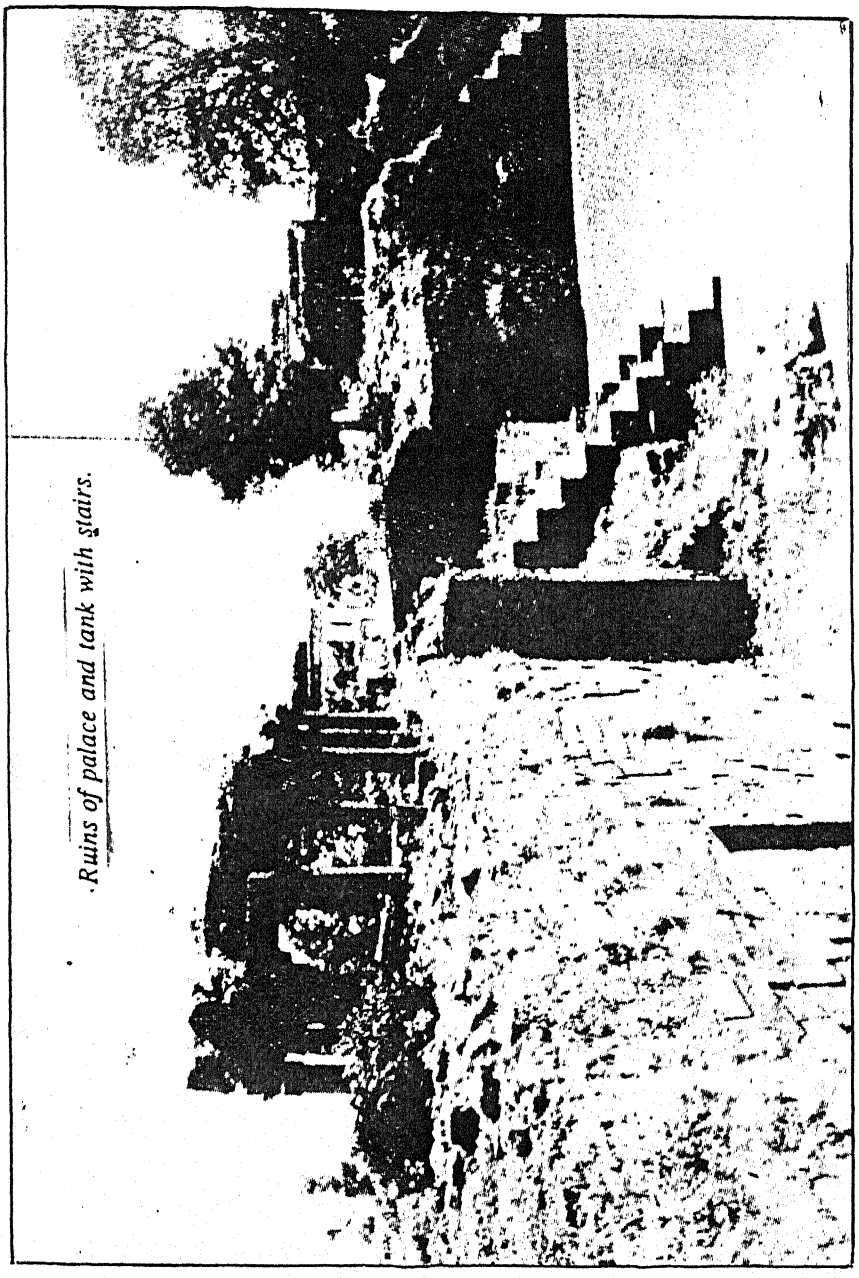


FIG: 7.3

Ruins of palace and tank with stairs.

It may well be that the rank of visisa was rather a title of honour or a sinecure than Governmental post.

Sukra mentions the treasurer as one of the ministers of the king and a Chandela Inscriptions shows that this was the case in their state. The Ajaygadh Rock inscriptions of Bhojavarman states that Subhata, one of the members of Jajuka's family, " eagerly striving to benefit others (and) accomplishing his objects by what he engaged in, became permanently the chief superintendent of the treasury (Kosadhikaradhipati) of the illustrious king Bhojavarman. The next verse praises subhata, the lord of the treasury (Bhandagarapati)whose only thought was for right and prosperity, and who, thought at the head of all weighty affairs is both trustworthy and full of knowledge and, who as minister (saciva) of the illustrious king Bhoja is widely famed for qualities and who delights in bestowing on others benefits without end, and is a very store of benevolence (Epigraphic Indica: I, 335).

7.8 GENERAL FEATURE OF KALANJARA FORT AND FORTIFICATION

Kalanjara fort (Latitude 25°1'N., and Longitude 80°29'E.) situated on the lofty crag of precipitous rock of hard sandstone on an outlying branch of the Panna Range is at a distance of 56Km to the south-east of the headquarters of Banda district (U.P.) (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929). Although it has a long antiquity as an abode of stone age man (P.C. Pant: 1982) the settlements and fortification, according to Alexander Cunningham, started in the first century A.D. The settlements at the site became substantial

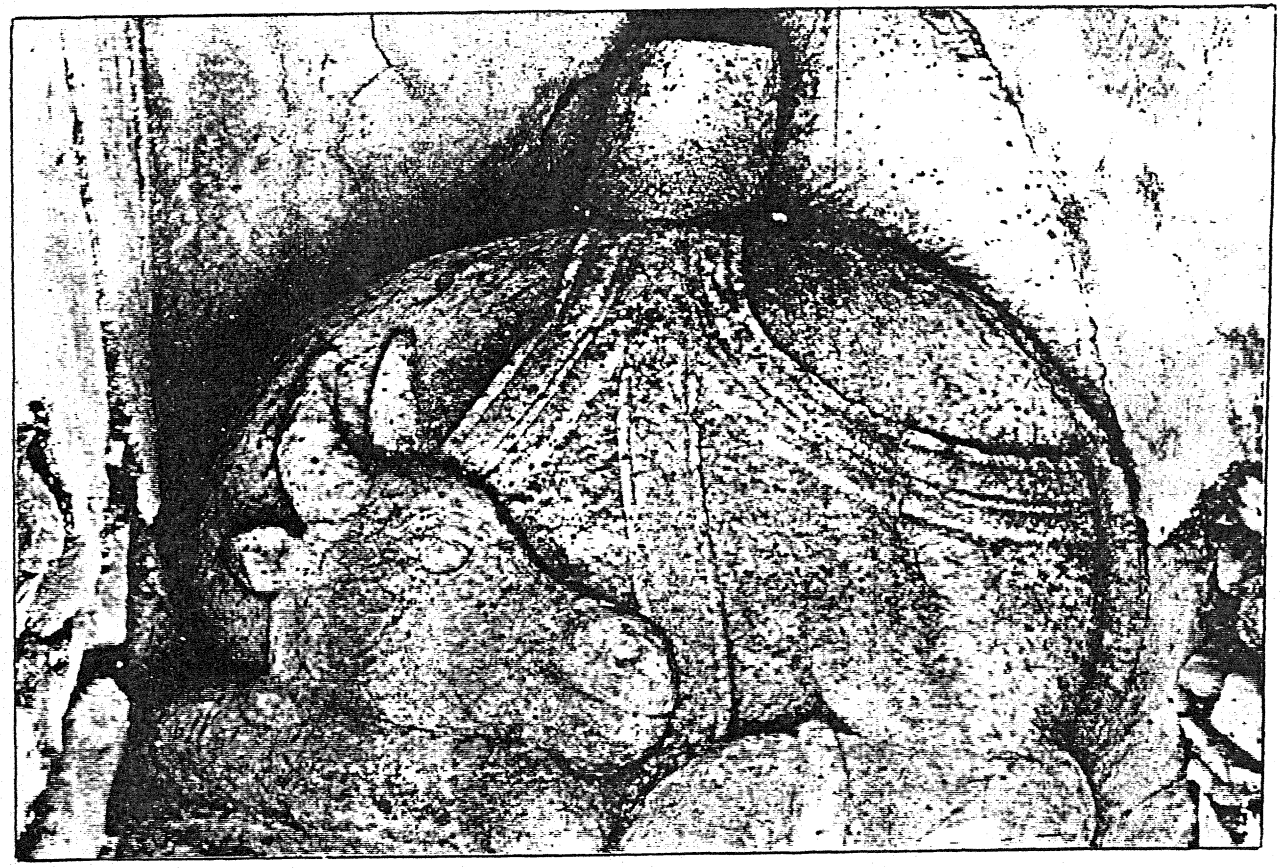


FIG 74 *Rock-cut Nandi with Siva Linga near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara.*

by the Gupta period between A.D. fourth and sixth centuries (M.L. Nigam: 1987) and it became an important religious centre. Inscriptions and other archaeological remains show that the real importance of Kalanjara as a fort and urban centre started in the tenth century A.D. under the Candellas, about this time we find stone structures and fortification etc. (N.S. Bose: 1956). Kalanjara became a strong military and administrative centre where garrison of soldiers were maintained under the Candellas. (Fig.7.1).

Kalanjara hill has an elevation of 375 metres from the mean sea level and of some 215 metres from the surrounding plain (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929) The summit of the hill is a table land slightly undulating and between 6 and 8 Km. in circuit. The total area of Kalanjara hill is about 2850 hectares. On the Kalanjara hill we have numerousreservoirs, tanks and ponds, ruins of several buildings and the remains of structural and some rock-cut temples. The fort of Kalanjara was provided with walls and gates built in stone. The town Kalanjara was situated at the foot of the hill. It also contains numerous relics of the past. Remains of ramparts and three city gates at the town are the significant elements of city architecture of the Candellas. The positions of ancient gates are sufficiently indicated by their names; the KAMTA (Chitrakut) gate lying to the north, the PANNA gate to the south-west and REWA gate in the south-east of the town, The town Kalanjara is locally known as TARAHATI, the name is derived from the word TARE which means below and refers to the location of town

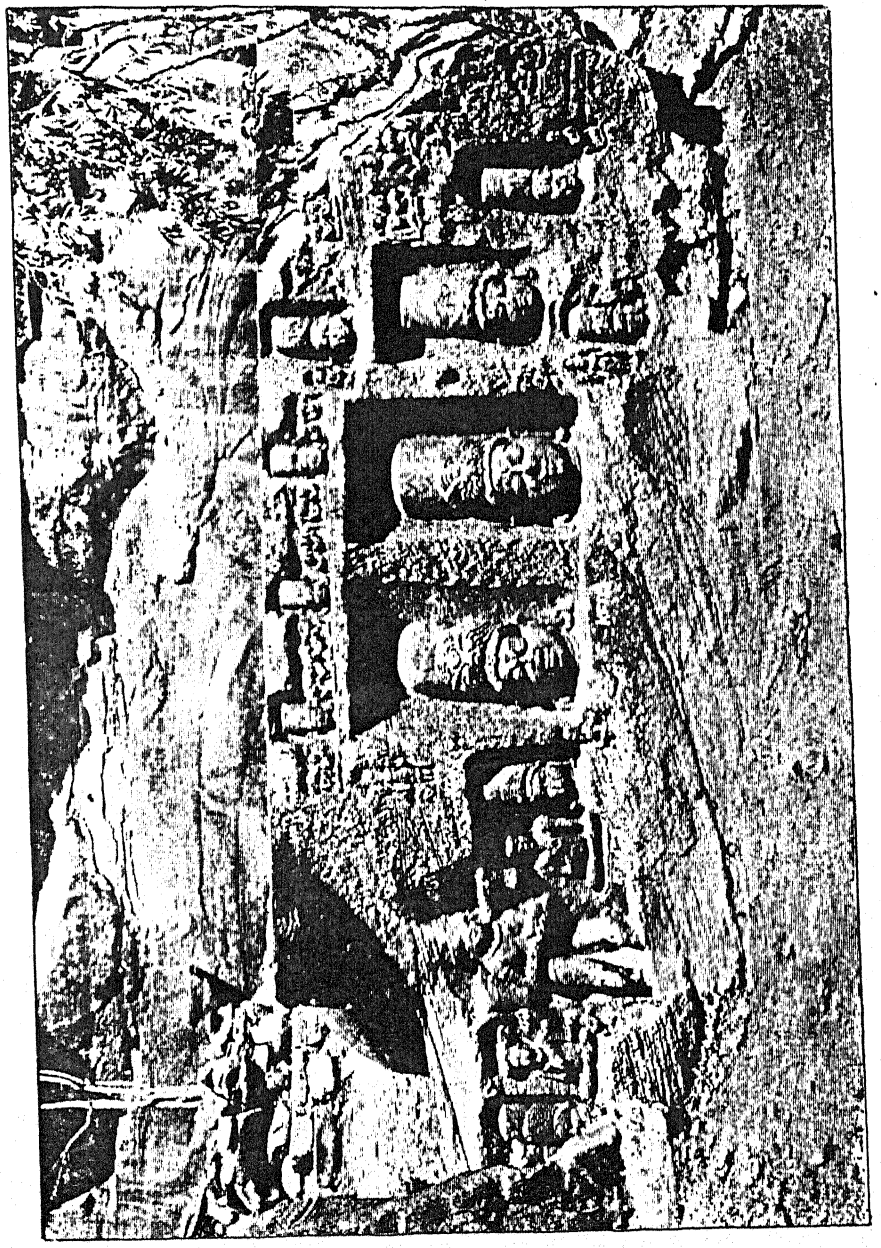
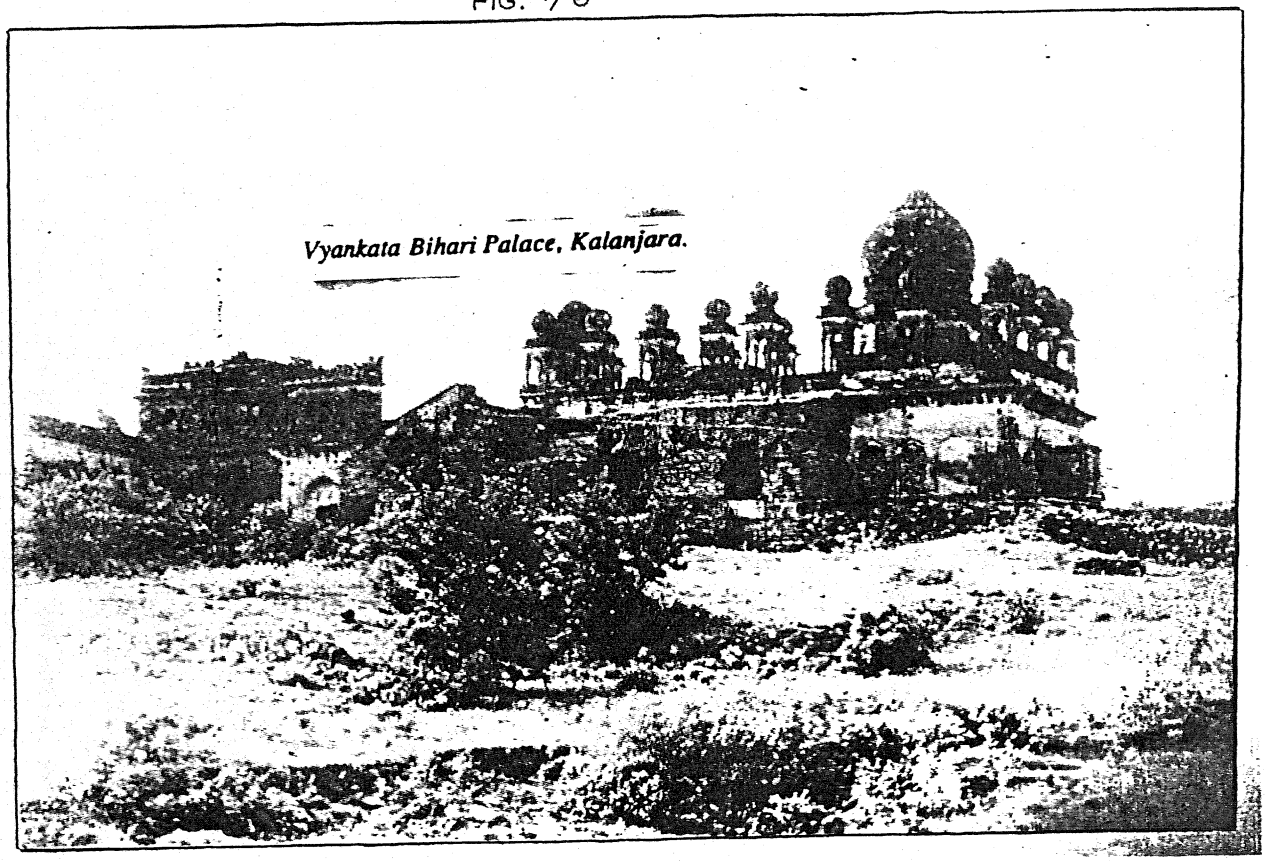


FIG 7.5 *Rock-cut Ekmukha Lingas with Devotees, Kalanjara.*

at the foot of the hill. Tarahati contained four muhallas now known as Sadar Bazar, Khurd Bazar, Gopal Sagar and Mihnan. Adjoining Tarahati there is a village called Katra-Kalinjara which is also generally included under the town Kalanjara. Beyond the immediate neighbourhood, the name Kalanjara is applied indiscriminately to the villages of Majhagawan, Siddhpur and Nayagaon situated at the foot of the hill. Kalanjara town appears to represent an early medieval military centre and a township (D.L. Drak Brockman: 1929) (Fig.7.2)

We study the settlement patterns at Kalanjara under the Candellas. The economic importance of Kalanjara was derived from its hinterland and precious diamond resources. It roughly corresponds to Banda district of Uttar Pradesh and covers an area of 7645 sq. Km. (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929). The marked feature of the northern hinterland is the bad-land topography. The general feature is the succession of narrow doabs formed by numerous streams that carry the drainage to the Yamuna. Much of the land along the bank of the streams is badly gullied. The plain is floored by detritus and hill wash, generally with light thin top soils. It is covered by mar, kabar, parua and rakar soils. The mar is black soil suitable for growing wheat, gram and cotton. The kabar soil is a variety of lighter black soil suitable for rice and gram. Parua is ordinary loam soil, occurs in many parts of Banda district and is suitable for wheat, barley and millets. Raker is waste land, unsuitable for cultivation. The plain is known as Jurar tract and is one of the most fertile plains of Bundelkhand (R.L.Singh:171)

FIG: 7·6

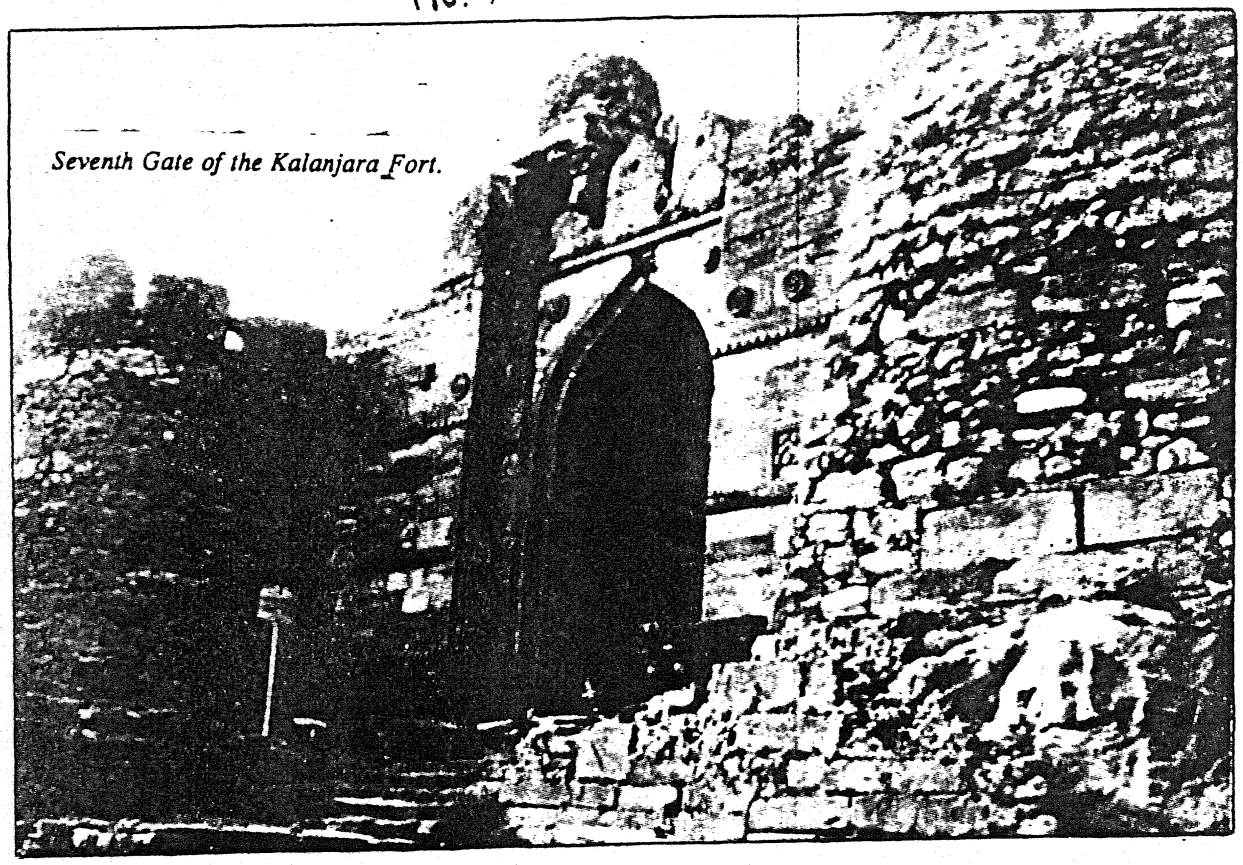


Vyankata Bihari Palace, Kalanjara.

The Ken, Baghain and Paisuni are the main perennial streams. All these rivers exhibit dendritic patterns. The general slope is from the south-west to the north-east. The climate of the hinterland is characterized by three main seasons: the monsoon season from the mid June or early July to mid October, winter from November to February followed by summer from March to mid June. Mean temperature in January is around 15°C. to 20°C. and May-June 35°C. to 45°C. The summer is harsh in the extreme. The rainy season begins in the second half of the June or early July and continues upto September. The mean precipitation varies from 800 mm. to 1000mm. of which nearly 60% falls between July and August. Rainfall is often very local and sporadic, both at any one time and over a run of years. There is a strong tendency to spells of ineffective rainfall or absolute drought. In the nutshell, rainfall is scanty and unreliable and uncertainty is the dominant note (Fig.73).

Probably the hinterland produced sugarcane, cotton, coarse, millets (Kodon) and hemp during the Candella rule as these crops are mentioned in almost all the land grants issued by rulers of the dynasty (Epigraphia Indica: Vol. XXXII, p. 120). It is really surprising that cultivation of barley, gram, wheat and millets are not mentioned in the grants at all. We have no idea about the agricultural methods prevalent in the Kalanjara region. On the Kalanjara hill, at Khajuraho, Mahoba and other places throughout Candella kingdom, we have numerous reservoirs, tanks and ponds for religious and other purposes. We have some inscriptions recording the construction of wells (nirjaras and vapis) with perennial supply

FIG: 7·7



Seventh Gate of the Kalanjara Fort.

of water (Epigraphia Indica: Vol. I, p. 327). It is not unlikely that the practice of providing water facilities may have also been followed in the country side where it promoted the supply of water both for drinking and irrigation. Such facilities may have been organized individually and collectively, the state under the Candellas seems to have played an important part. The Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga, dated Samwat 1011 (A.D. 953-54) refers to the construction of embankments to divert the course of a river (Epigraphic Indica: Vol. I, p. 126). Terms like Kulya (Canal), Pushkarani (tank) and bhiti (embankment) are met with in different Candella records (S.K. Mira: 1977). Some of the Candella kings are remembered for having excated reservoirs and tanks at Mahoba, viz. Rahilya (A.D. 900-915) for Rahilya-Sagar, Kirtivarman (A.D. 1060-1100) for Kirti-Sagar and Madanavarman (A.D. 1129-1163) for Madana-Sagar (S.K. Mitra: 1977). Kalanjara enjoyed special advantage from the agrarian point of view. It was located in the comparatively fertile central segment of Bundelkhand (S.K. Mitra: 1977). The rural base of Kalanjara was strong to support its urban settlement. Ajayagadh Rock Inscription at the time of Kirtivarman (A.D. 1060-1100) (Epigraphia Indica: XXXI, p. 165) and another Ajayagadh Rock Inscription at the time of Bhojavarman (A.D. 1286-1288) (Epigraphia Indica: Vol. I, p. 334) mention prosperous villages named Dugauda and Pipalahika granted to certain officials of Kalanjara fort. These villages were apparently situated in fertile areas and not very far from Kalanjara (J.N. Pandey: 1990-91). (Fig. 7.4)

The great economic importance of Kalanjara was derived from its south-western hinterland where precious diamond mines were located. There is a diamond mine at a village named SAHALACHMIPUR situated about 16 Km. south of Kalanjara on the Baghain river (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929). The diamond mines of Panna are located at a distance of about 45 Km. south-west of Kalanjara. Sandstone including red sandstone occurs in and around Kalanjara. Semi-precious stones including agates of great beauty and variety are found in the bed of Ken river (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929).

It was certainly situated at the centre of cross-roads. Kalanjara obviously owed its growth as a fort and urban settlement to its pivotal and strategic position well connected with major cities of north India through trade routes. Much of the long-distance trade seems to have been in luxury and prestige items. Kalanjara was famous for its iron tools and weapons (N.S. Yadava: 1973). Probably the Kalanjara artisans produced some iron and luxury goods for local use and sale. Various types of iron lances, swords and daggers are known from Candella epigraphs and sculptures. The extant epigraphic records testify that there were markets (apanas) in the towns in which there were streets of shops where wares were kept for sale (vanijam vithipathe) (Epigraphia Indica: Vol. I, p. 34) (Fig.).

We have no means to show that the taxes collected from the peasants were sufficient to maintain administrative and other establishments at Kalanjara under the Candellas. Archaeological and other sources of evidence indicate continuous progress at

Kalanjara in structures between 11th and 12th centuries. How did this happen? Whether the land revenue was sufficient to support and sustain large scale building activity at Kalanjara for more than two hundred years, is doubtful. It was rich mineral resources including Panna diamonds which supported stupendous building activity (H.D. Sankalia: 1966).

In the post-Gupta period students of economic history is surprised at the almost complete absence of gold coins for four centuries and paucity of coins in general in north India. Self-sufficient economic units precluded the use of coins by rural peasantry and rendered the use of money less important (R.S. Sharma: 1965). References to gold coins in land-grants are found but coins are not physically available. Gold and other coinage revived in the kingdom of the Candellas in the 11th century. The extant coinage belongs to Kirtivarman (A.D. 1060-1100) and his successors. This comprises of gold drammas (between 61-63 grains), half drammas (above 31 grains) and quarter drammas (15 grains) and copper quarter drammas (S.K. Mitra: 1977). The revival of coinage in the 11th century, however tardy, has to be accounted for. The exploitation of Panna diamond mines enabled the candellas to mint gold coins. The Candella gold coins, when compared with Gupta gold coins appear to be little pieces. It means that even at this stage the supply of gold was limited (Fig.).

Anantasayin Visnu, Kuttittha, Kalanjara.
FIG: 78

A brief survey of main economic trends ereflected in the inscriptions and other sources indicates that agriculture was the main source of economic life. It was supplemented by other

Anantasayin Visnu, Kotitirtha, Kalanjara.

FIG: 7·8

economic resources including income from mining of gems and precious stones.

We get elaborate description regarding town planning and construction of forts in the literary works particularly in the Silpasastras. The earliest literary reference is found in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. Kautilya has classified forts (durga) into four categories on the basis of their locations: Parvata (hill fort), Audaka (water fort), Dhanvan (desert fort) and Vanadurga (forest fort) (Arthasastra: 2.4.1). Manu (7.70) classifies the forts under six types, namely dhanvadurga (desert fort), mahidurga (land fort), abdadurga (water fort), Vrikshadurga (forest fort), Nridurga (man fort) and giridurga (hill fort). The Agni Prana (22.1-3) following Manu classifies the forts into six main groups and treats hill fort as the best. The Manasara mentions as many as eight kinds of forts at one place, seven types at another and again three kinds of mountain forts at another place, thus eighteen types of forts are referred to in the Manasara (P.K. Acharya: 1933). The large number of fortresses had been taken by scholars as an unmistable evidence of feudal organization (R.S. Sharma: 1965). The number and importance of forts increased considerably during the second half of the first millennium A.D. in the wake of the spells of virtual absence or weakness of central authority, the expansion of the Samanta system, invasions and frequent wars (B.N.S. Yadava: 1980). (Fig 7.5)

The method of planning of a fort shows that a number of roads are to be built to demarcate the plots for various buildings.

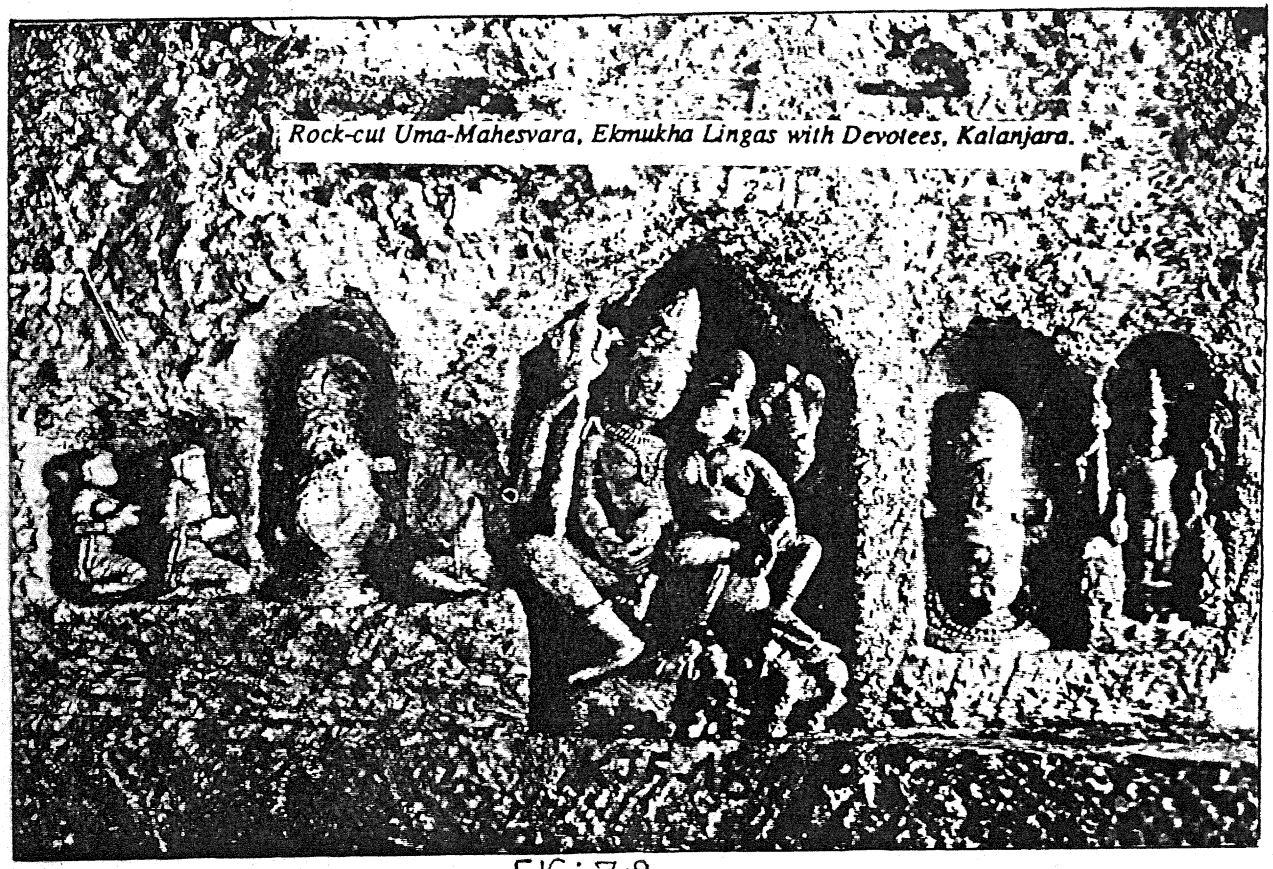

Rock-cut Uma-Mahesvara, Ekmukha Lingas with Devotees, Kalanjara.

FIG: 7·9

The Arthasastra (2.4.1) mentions six royal roads, three running from east to west and three from north to south. According to the Manasara, there should be one to twelve large streets in a fortified town (P.K. Acharya: 1933). Works on silpasastra, following basically Arthasastra, give minute descriptions about the different buildings of a fort. It should have a number of gates, generally four gates, facing the four cardinal directions were built (Arthasastra: 2.4,1-11) A fort generally has the palace of king, queens, princess, arsenal, store house, kitchen (mahanasa), residences of ministers, chief priest and others. Private and public audience halls, temples, stables for horses, elephant-shed and cow-shed, jail etc. are given their due places. Water reservoirs like vapi (stepped well), kupa (well), tadaga (tank) and kunda (deep pools) should be built on the estern direction within the wall of a fortified settlement. The construction of sport tank (kelisarasi) is recommended at the spot presided by Varuna (L.M. Dubey: 1967) (Fig.7.6).

The rampart and gates at Kalanjara hill are the significant element of architecture. Among the other archaeological remains mention may be made of the tanks, ponds and temples inside the fortified area on the hill. The walls of the rampart are built of great blocks of sandstone with heavy bastions at intervals in which odd stones and sculptures from old ruined temples are found embedded. this evidence suggests additions, modifications and repairs of rampart walls from time to time. There were four gates facing the four cardinal points, one each on the north, east, west and south. The eastern gate was closed sometimes during the Candella period.

Mahismardini near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara

FIG: 7.10

Mahismardini near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara.

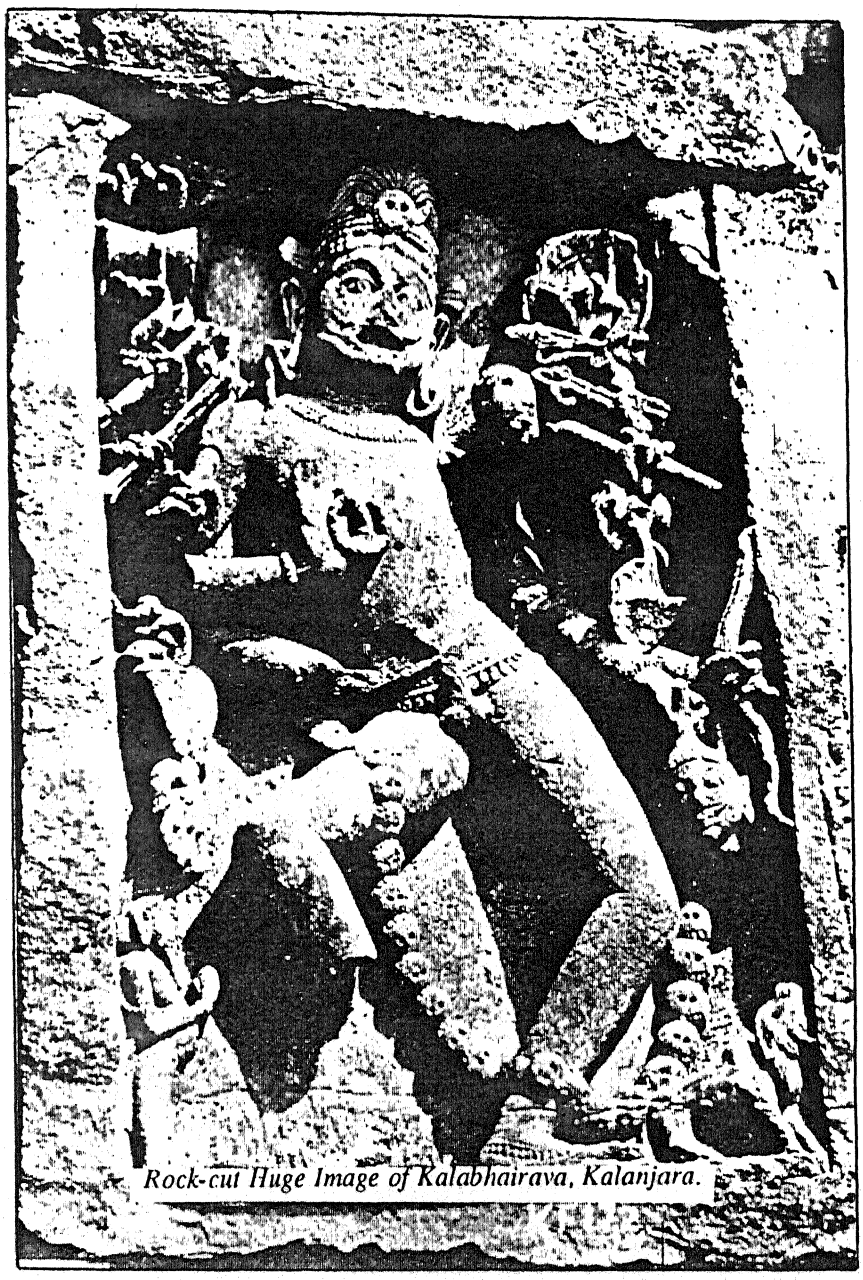
FIG: 7.10

The northern gate with seven gateways served as the main gate or king's gate. It has been for the most part rebuilt in Mahammadan style and finalby repaired by the Bundellas. The details of the present structures of northern gate exhibit the impact of Muslim or Mughal architecture but it is not unlikely that it was designed and constructed sometimes during the Candella period if not earlier. The first gateway is called now the Alam Darwaza. The names of the other gateways are Chandi Darwaza, Buddhibhadra Darwaza, Hanumana Darwaza, Lal Darwaza of Bhairon Darwaza and Bara Darwaza or Mahadeo Darwaza. The western gate was located in the south western corner of the rampart. In the southern gate there were three gateways; one in the rampart, the second at the extremity of the rampart, and the third a little lower down; the latter two had been blocked up (D.L. Drake Brockman: 1929). The southern gate was known as Panna gate (Fig.77).

There is no actual remains of palace architecture inside the fort. But it seems there were two palaces of Candella period, one near the Kotitirtha tank and the other situated on the western part of the hill near a Candella building called Parmal-ki-Baithaka. Most of the debris at Kotitirtha belongs probably to a Candella palace. A good part of the settlement could be associated with Candella rule. Residential houses and some temples were situated around the tank. Settlements at Kotitirtha have no planned layout the structures were mainly made of sandstone blocks. The structures, largely of rubble show poor construction. There is hardly any traces of the building named Parmal-ki-Baithaka now, it is said

Rock-cut Huge Image of Kalabhairava, Kalanjara

FIG: 77



Rock-cut Huge Image of Kalabhairava, Kalanjara.

FIG: 7.11

that its destruction was completed under the British rule to furnish materials for a tomb to Wauchope, collector of Bundelkhand, who died at Kalanjara in 1808 A.D. (fig. 7.8)

There are five rock-cut caves on the hill at Kalanjara. The general arrangement was not pre-planned, as the caves were excavated sporadically in different periods. The rock cut caves are not located in a particular locality, they are situated in different parts of the hill. Near the seventh gateway of the fort is located a rock-cut cell called Sita Sej. The cell has one stone bed and one raised stone pillow. The door of the cell has plain pilasters and square holes above, seemingly for posts to block up the entrance. Its front portion has completely disappeared. Close to Sita Sej is Sita kund, a natural reservoir. It is a pool of clear water in small cavity under shelving rocks and is reached by two or three steps (Fig. 7.9, 10)

At some distance from the Sita Sej on the eastern part of the hill there are two rock-cut cells known as Siddha-ki-gupha and Bhagwan Sej. Siddha-ki-gupha is merely a small excavation in a perpendicular rock most probably for performing penance. It contains two small inscriptions. Bhagwan Sej is a rock-cut cell under a projection of a rock. The cell is provided with one stone bed and has a raised stone pillow as well. Its front has perished. There is a small cistern now called Pani-ki-aman, with a narrow mouth. The roof of the cistern is supported by four decorated small pillars. The single cells with stone bed are primitive in character.

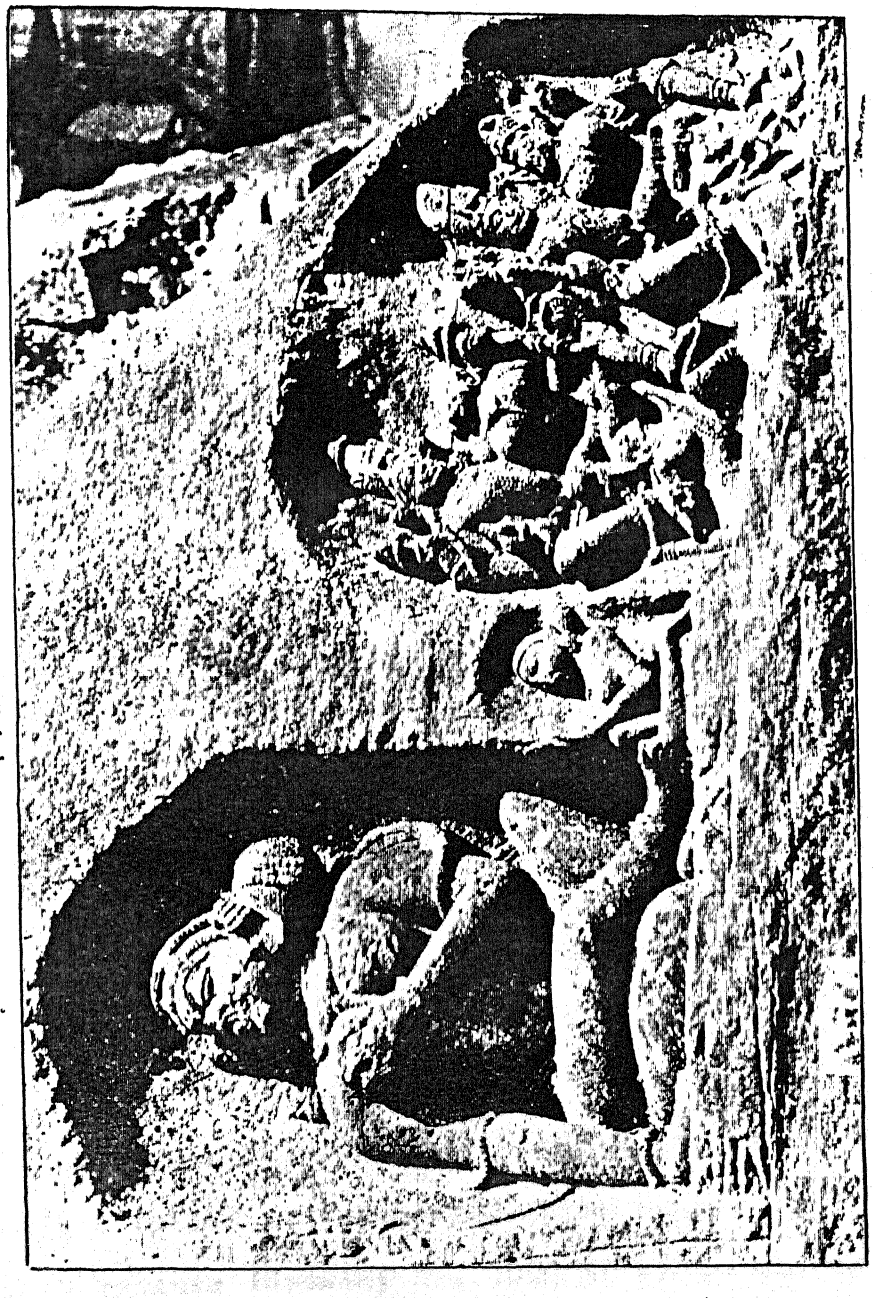


FIG: 7·12

In the later cells the floor is sloped so as to form a couch. The early type of the cells throw light on rock-cut architecture in the early centuries of the Christian era. (Fig. 7.11)

The largest and the most important of the entire series of rock-cut examples is the Nilakantha temple. Situated on the western slope of the hill, it is approached through a gateway from the east. The gateway opens in an irregular shaped courtyard. The small passage is lined on the left side by rock-cut sculptures and lingas of different shapes and sizes. The Nilakantha temple consists of a rock-cut sanctum and a structural mandapa which was added somewhat later. The Sanctum is roughly excavated. The interior of the Sanctum is not square but oblong on plan. It contains a black linga about 1.35 metres high known as Nilakantha Mahadeva. Contrary to usual arrangement of the structural examples, due to its position on the hill side, the entrance of the sanctum is not from the east but to the west (Fig. 7.12-7.13)

The rock-cut Sanctum might have been in existence from the Gupta period but the mandapa is of the time of Kirtivarman. An inscription on a stone slab built into the wall of the Sanctum of Nilakantha temple at Kalahjara, dated Samwat 1147, Magha Sudi 7, Revati Nakshatra (January 10, 1090 A.D.) in the reign of Candella king Kirtivarman records the construction of mandapa for the temple of Nilakantha by Srimurti, the Guru of Kirtivarman (A.D. 1060-1100A.D.) (Epigraphia Indica: Vol. XXXI, 163-64). The pillars of the mandapa are in their original position but it has

Erotic Sculptures Bhancacamp area, Kalanjara

FIG: 7.13

lost its roof. The functions of the mandapa were the holdings of religious discourses, singing of devotional songs, and, above all, performance of dances by the female temple dancers, probably daily. That the dances did take place in the Nilakantha temple is certain. An inscription on a pillar in the mandapa of Nilakantha temple at Kalanjara dated Samwat 1186 (A.D. 1129-30) in the reign of Madanasa-varman (A.D. 1129-1163) refers to the Mahapratihara Sangram Singh and Mahanachani Padmavati. The Mahanartaki with nartakis below her indicates that there was a regular hierarchy of temple dancers at Kalanjara. The dances, though meant primarily for the entertainment of the deity and its attendant priest, should have been witnessed by the King, his queens, a few courtiers and some section of the public. Looking at the size of the mandapa at Kalanjara, one has to admit that it would accommodate only a small number of persons comfortably. It is said that in the case of Khajuraho mahamandapas the number would not have exceeded 10 persons (H.D. Sankalia, 1966). (Fig. 114)

On the eastern side of the Nilakantha temple at a higher level, approached by a flight of steps, is a large rock-cut reservoir known as Sivargardhara. The roof of the reservoir is supported by four neatly cut square pillars cleft in the solid rock. It contains clear, potable water throughout the year. Water is constantly trickling into it from the overhanging rocks.

There were more than a dozen structural temples on the hill-top at Kalanjara. All these temples were located around tanks

Nrisimha carved on a Rock near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara.

FIG: 7.14

and reservoirs in different parts of the hill. These temples have been raised to the ground. To the east of the Nilakantha temple there are ruins of several temples and an image of the Varaha avatara (Boar incarnation) in good state of preservation. The Varaha image is fashioned on a fine-grained bluish stone and highly finished. Two main temples and three smaller ones, once stood in a row, east to west, with open space in between them. Remains of several Saivite and Vaishnavite temples are scattered around Kotitirtha tank. There is still a small Siva temple in the north-west corner of the tank. On the eastern part of the hill, there are remains of some ruined temples around a tank called Burhiya-ka-talao. In 1990 remains of a Jain temple, only known of its kind at Kalanjara for the first time, were uncovered here at the eastern corner of the hill during the course of the construction of an approach road from the village Kalanjara to the hill-top. The ruins of Jain temple have yielded a mass of beautiful Jain stone sculptures of early medieval style of Candella workmanship. (Fig. 7.15)

The Kalanjara hill was dotted not only with palaces and temples but also with reservoirs, tanks and ponds. We shall begin with Hanuman Kund situated in the northern corner near the fifth gateway. It is a small pool of water enclosed by four stone walls. The face of the rock between Hanuman Kund and the fifth gateway is covered with sculptures of Candella workmanship. There is another small tank known as Bhairon Kund near the sixth gatway. This is an artificial tank about 41 metres long. About six metres above

Camunda carved on a Rock near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara.

FIG: 7.15

the tank, there is a figure of Bhairon about 3 metres high cut in the solid rock. To the right of the tank are several lingas and on the left the sculptures of Kali, Chandika, the lingas and yonis and some male and female dancing figures cut on the rock. The next tank is Sita Kund, close to the seventh gateway. It is a natural reservoir, perhaps a little enlarged. All these Kunds collect water trickling from natural springs and contain potable water. Situated on the north-eastern slope of the hill is a large reservoir full of water called Patalganga. It is about 12x6 or 7.50 metres, situated between 12 and 15 metres below the top of the hill. It is rough and irregular rock-cut tank, probably in a great measure a natural one. It seems probable that some natural fissure or cleft was enlarged or built up as required. Panou Kund, another tank, is situated on the eastern part of the hill. It is shallow, circular basin about 3.75 metres in diameter. Water constantly trickles into it from between flat strata of rock. (Fig.7.16).

Situated on the eastern corner of the hill, the Buddhi-Buddha or Burhiya-ka-talao is one of the largest tanks of the fort. This tank is about 45-50 metres long by 18.50 metres broad and is excavated in the rock; it has steps all round it. According to local tradition the credit for building this tank is given to king Kirtivarman of Candella dynasty. It is said that there was originally only a small spring here which was later on converted into a tank by Kirtivarman. The remains of several buildings, including temples, are lying scattered all around the tank (Fig.7.17).

FIG:7-16 *Vishnu on Garuda, Brahma and Uma-Mahesvara near Neelkantha Temple, Kalanjara.*

Another tank, known as Kotitirtha is situated almost in the middle of the hill top. It is a large tank nearly 90 metres long, artificially formed in the rocky surface of the hill, The Kotitirtha is said to be supplied by a spring. South-west end of the tank is formed by a wall or rather blocked up bridge which cuts off a small irregularly excavated portion, generally dry after the rainy season, this was probably done to give symmetry to the tank. There are several flights of steps leading down to water in different places. It is an important place of pilgrimage. Remains of a large number of residential buildings and temples are scattered around this tank.

Besides these tanks there are several other tanks and pond on the top of the hill. Among these, mention may be made of the Kedar talao, (Madan talao) the Panna, the Kaincheri talaiya, Bijali talao and Khumbhor talao. These are excavated on the rock, but are neither so large, nor so carefully formed as the Burhiya-ka-talao and Kotitirtha. These are nearly dry, except in the rains. Almost at the foot of the hill on the north-east there is a tank called Surasariganga which seems to collect the water which finds its way from above. This is a large (50x35 metres), artificial tank with steps all round it, and was originally profusely decorated with sculptures much of which still remains. There were some big temples around the tank. The Nilakantha temple complex was situated in the western corner of the hill. Tanks (tadagas) were built not only near the gates but also in different parts of the fort. Systematic archaeological exploration and small scale excavations at Kotitirtha and some other localities is highly desirable to clarify the problem relating to settlement patterns. (Fig. 7.1).

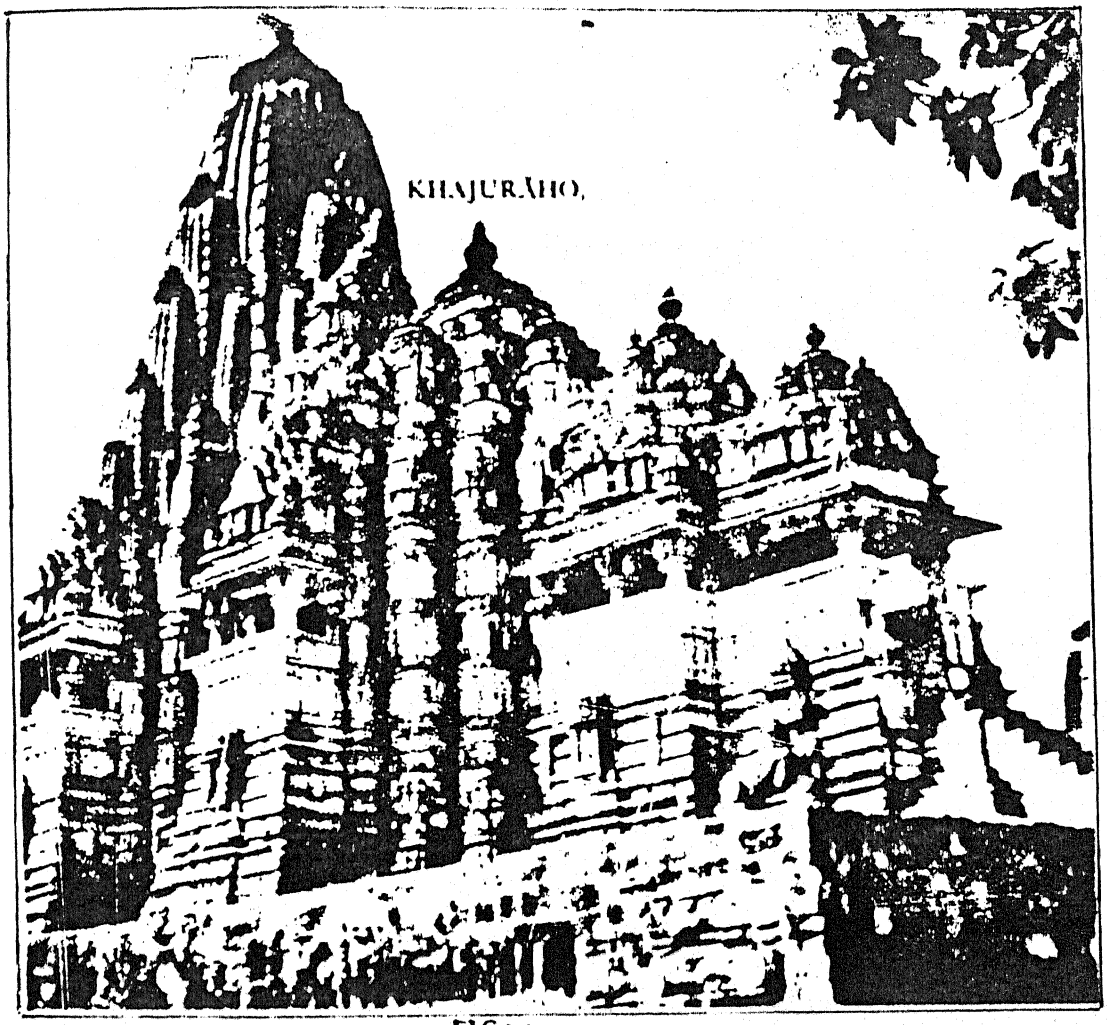


FIG: 7.17

CHAPTER-VII

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

CHAPTER-VIII

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The Chandelas dynasty arose in the first quarter of the 9th century and survived as a powerful independent roval family until the close of the 13the century. At first owing allegiance to the Gurjara-Partiharas, the Chandelas became independent when the pratiharas passed into decline in the second half of the 10th century. About the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century, Chandela rulers were able to establish their supermacy over large parts of central India. The boundaries of the Chandela kingdom usually extended from the Betwa river on the west to theVindhya mountains on the east, and from the Jumna on the north to the Narbada river on the south.

The Chandelas owe their importance to three basic factors- geographical, political and military.

Geography of any region is always a key to the understanding of its polity, society, economy, culture and military. The body of Bundelkhand is made of hard and black soil, vindhyan fastnesses and dense forests. Together with low spring level and deficient rainfall they militated against the emergence of a local centre of power, till the advent of the Chandelas who put in extra efforts to generate a surplus by tackling water problem, promoting trade, encouraging industry and taping forest wealth. Prior to them political unity is difficult to establish though

Cedi janapada of Buddha's time might have approximated to the idea in some respects. In between, the region was either a part of an empire or fragmented into several pockets of power-Aryan side by side with non-Aryan. Under the Guptas Bundelkhand was a district administrative unit and the arrangement was based on its geographic compactness. Identical may have been its position under the Mauryas, though we have no means to ascertain.

This geographical configuration largely influenced the history of the Chandelas. The kingdom stood very close to that fertile region of north-western India which lay to the north of the Jumna and the Ganges. While the country itself, divided by numerous ranges of hills, the spurs of the Vindhya mountains made it almost impregnable. The position of the Chandelas was further strengthened by the possession of the important and almost inaccessible forts of Ajaygadh, Mahoba and Kalanjara. The importance of these three forts of the Chandela kingdom is clearly evident from the history of the dynasty, and mention has already been made of the physical features of these places (Sukraniti, 12.13). Especially important was Kalanjara, which is about 800 ft. above the plain. The lower part of the ascent is tolerably easy, but the middle portion is very steep, while the upper part is nearly perpendicular and quite inaccessible (Archaeological Survey Report of India: 1892). Unfortunately for all its inaccessibility, the fort of Kalanjara had a serious drawback. The water supply of the fort was uncertain (Sukraniti:1882) and the failure of water supply

compelled the Chandelas to surrender to the Moslems in A.D. 1202 (Sukraniti: 1882).

In spite of all its advantages, the geographical position of the Chandela country had, however a great disadvantage. It was very difficult for the ruler of such a region to build up a durable empire, owing to problems of communication and administration of such a hilly region; and the security of the kingdom depended almost entirely on the forts of Kalanjara and Ajaygadh. Once these were taken the whole region lay open to an invader. Moreover, the hilly tribes of the regions often caused trouble in the kingdom, and the reference to the subjugation of the sabaras, pulindas and bhillas in a Chandella inscription (Epigraphic Indica J.:334) indicates a lack of strong local administration in outlying districts. The resounding success of the Kalacuris in the east during the reigns of Gangeyadeva and Laksmikaran and the success of Prithviraja Chahamana in the west can partially be attributed to the failure of the Chandelas to build up a strong defence on their frontiers. A durable and strong all-round empire in India could only be acquired by a power which held the more fertile and level region of the gangetic doab.

The internal history of the Pratihara family in the first half of the 10th century (C. 908-C.960) seems to have been a story of continued family dissension coupled with foreign invasion. This made the authority of central government extremely weak. The

consequence was that the different provinces which had so long acknowledged allegiance to the central authority found an opportunity of making themselves independent. The contemporary Chandela king Harsa played an important part in the political affairs of that time. By re-establishing the Pratihara king on the throne of Kanauj Harsa raised the Chandela family to a prominence which was further enhanced by his son and successor Yasovarman. Yasovarman inflicted a very severe blow on the rapidly declining power of the Pratiharas by capturing the important fort of Citrakuta and Kalanjara.

By this time Indian history had entered a new phase. Owing to internal disorder, the Rastrakutas and the Palas could not play any further important part in northern India. The Pratihara empire was crumbling. Fortune favoured the feudatories with golden opportunities: and the Chandela rulers Harsa and Yasovarman made best use of them. After the conquest of Kalanjara and Citrakuta, although the Pratihara emperor continued to enjoy the imperial title, it was Yasovarman who was the defec to ruler of the empire. The period of transition and political read-justment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun (H.C. Ray:1936).

The Gurjara-Pratiharas left a legacy of imperial ideas, and their empire may be regarded as the first great political entity created out of the large number of foreign settlers in India who appear after the break-up of the Gupta empire. It was in fact

the first Rajput empire, the foreunner of the later Rajput kingdoms of the Candellas, Cahamanas, Caulukyas, Kalacuris, Paramaras, Gahadavalas and other minor families, who appeared on the scene and fought among themselves for the hegemony of north-west and central India that was lost with the decline of the Pratiharas.

The decline of the Pratiharas coincided with a revival of the Palas of Bengal under Gopala II, (c. 921-978) who again tried to enter the political stage of northern India. This brought them in conflict with the Candella rulers Yasovarman and Dhanga, whose inscriptions claim victories over the former. The attempt of the Palas, however, failed and, the fight for supremacy was confined to the Rajput dynasties.

Among the princes of the various dynasties that were 'struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete pratihara Princes (H.C. Ray:1936) the most outstanding was the Candella ruler Dhanga. There is no doubt that Dhanga inherited a position which had been strongly founded by his father Yasovarman. The empire was further strengthened by Dhanga with the annexation of the fort of Gwalior and extension of the dominion in all directions. But before the Candellas could firmly establish themselves as the supreme power in north-west India they had to contend with the Moslems.

In has been pointed out by Dr. R.C. Majumdar that the Pratihar empre owed its birth to a struggle against aggressive Islam which sought to penetrate into western India through Sind. During the two centuries of their rule the Pratiharas never forgot

their mission, and successfully resisted the Moslem attacks at a time when they seemed irresistible (Journal of the Department of Letters: x, 71,72). After the decline of the Pratiharas this heavy burden fell on the shoulders of the Sahis of Afghanistan and Punjab and with the fall of the Sahis the Candellas had to face the invasion of redoubtable Sultan Mahmud. Dhanga, however, did not come into direct conflict with the Moslems, as the latter were too deeply engaged in war with the Sahis to attack him.

Dhanga's successor Ganda had a very short reign. He was succeeded by Vidyadhara, who was undoubtedly the most powerful prince of his time. Vidyadhara realised that a fight with the Moslems was inevitable for attaining imperial power. The slaying of Rajyapala of Kanauj was only a stepping-stone to his ultimate object, which could not be achieved without including the Gangetic doab in his kingdom. Sultan Mahmud understood Vidyadhara's intention and wasted no time in attacking the Candella kingdom. Vidyadhara was probably not unprepared. The vast army he collected for the battle suggests that he was fully alive to the consequences of his attack on Rajyapala. Mahmud's first invasion was not fully crowned with success. He had to undertake a second expedition after two years. No doubt Mahmud succeeded in his attempts, but his campaign against Vidyadhara was not as spectacular as his other successes. Nevertheless, Vidyadhara's ambition received a severe setback. The failure of Vidyadhara was very unfortunate, for, as Dr. Ray says, the Candellas might have succeeded in combining a considerable portion of northern India

under their rule, "and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period. Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks have over produced (Ray, H.C.: 1936).

The significance of this period of Candella history, from the reign of Dhanga to that of Vidyadhara (c. 950-c.1025), lies in the fact that the mantle of imperialism which had dropped out of the hands of the Pratiharas, seems to have fallen on those of the Candellas. But this position the Candellas were not destined to enjoy for long. Vidyadhara's successors were weak and unworthy of the situation, and almost with Vdiyadhara's death, the supremacy in northern India passed out of the Candella hands.

During the reigns of Vijayapala and Devavarman the Candellas not only lost the initiative in the struggle for supremacy, but also virtually lost their independence to the Kalacuris, who were then the dominant power in north-west India. The accession of Kirtivarman to the Candella throne was marked by a revival of the Candella power and the decline of the Kalacuris. The failure of Laksmikarna Kalacuri to build up a strong empire in northern India was due to the alliance of other Rajput dynasties against him, and Kirtivarman Candella played a prominent part in bringing aboutthe downfall of Lakshmikarna. But Kirtivarman could not establish the Candellas as the supreme power in northern India though he provided an opportunity for his successors to do so. The weak reigns of Sallakasanavarman, Jayavarman and Prithvivarman, however, saw this opportunity lost and the Gahadavalas, under the strong rule of

Govindacandra (c.114-1155) emerged as the strongest power.

The reign of Madanavarman once again revived Candella hopes of gaining supremacy over other dynasties and establishing an empire in northern India. Inscriptions of Madanavarman show that he spared no energy to extend the Candella kingdom in all directions. The consequence of such an expansion was obvious,- Madanvarman came in conflict with the Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas. The conflict with the Gahadavalas was only the continuation of a struggle that started soon after the death of Kirtivarman. This tragic quarrel between the Candellas, Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas was very unfortunate for the future course of Indian history. The Moslem invaders had been having a very lean time since the death of Sultan Mahmud. A united effort of Govindacandra Gahadavala, Jayasimha-Siddharaja and Madanavarman Candella, aided by the other Hindu dynasties, might easily have ousted the Moslems from India once and for all. But that was not to be, and dynastic struggles took the place of any united action by the Hindu dynasties. The result was that none of the dynasties could achieve its ambition, and in course of half a century, one by one, they fell easy prey to the Moslem invaders. By the beginning of the 13th century the Cahamanas, the Gahadavalas and the Caulukyas had succumbed to the Moslem invaders. The turn of the Candellas came in A.D. 1202, when the fort of Kalanjara fell to Qutbuddin and Paramardi died. Paramardi's successor Trailokyavarman, however, succeeded in winning back the fort of Kalanjara from the Moslems within three years and continued to rule as an independent king. By A.D. 1212, large parts of the

Kalacuri territories were annexed by Trailokyavarman. In A.D. 1233 Trailokyavarman probably resisted another Moslem attack on his kingdom. But these successes were hardly of any real importance. With the failure of Prithviraja Cahamana in the Battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, the fate of all the Hindu dynasties was virtually decided and the hope of a strong united empire in northern India was lost for a long time to come. Like some other Rajput dynasties in different parts of northern India. The Chandelas continued to rule in Bundelkhand until the 14th century but their great days were over. Their history is clear that the part played by the Chandelas in the politics of northern India was by no means a small one.

The history of Ancient India is one of almost continuous warfare broken by occasional periods of short lived peace. The doctrine of Mandala which epitomises the Hindu conception of interstatal relations, is essentially a doctrine of strife and struggle. And it was no mere abstract theory, but embodied the experience of political leaders through countless generations. The factors which concributed to this frequency of warfare were various. A morepolent factor was the Hindu ideal of Vijigisa. Ancient texts inculcate times without number that fighting constituted the essential function of a king (Manu Samhita: vii-98) that Pacificism and kingship so to say, were contradiction in terms. A kings highest duty was not to shun war, but to get ready to smite his foes. Like a snake swallowing up mice, says usanas a pre-Kautilyan author on politics "the earth swallows the king who refuses to fight and the Brahman who is unduly attached to wives and children (Santiparava: 57.3). Like a fisherman; says Bharadvaj "who can not become prosperous except by catch-

ing and killing fish, a king can never attain prosperity without tearing the vitals of his enemy and performing other violent deeds. The armed might of your foe should be completely destroyed by ploughing it up and mowing it down or otherwise afflicting it by famine, starvation and third (Mahabharata: 1919). Elsewhere it is emphasised that "no respect is due to a king that does not somehow or other subdue his enemies. He sinks like cow in the mud, and is helpless as an ant (Mahabharata:1919). There is, it is said again "absolutely no rule but conflict for one of the warrior caste".

This incessant harping on war as an instrument of policy was not without purpose. In the congeries of small states into which India was habitually divided, often without natural frontiers marking them off into separate geographical units, military strength was the only guarantee for the continued existence of a kingdom. It was a guarantee not merely against strong rivals in the neighbourhood, but against the subtler forces of internal disintegration. But there was perhaps a deeper reason behind this ceaseless advocacy of war. The Hindus, it is well known, had evolved a synthesis out of the heterogenous mass of customs, traditions, values, tastes and beliefs, held by the various tribes and races inhabiting this vast continent. This synthesis was already a well-established fact before the rise of Maurya empire, and was never seriously disturbed till the advent of Islam. But there was nothing corresponding to this cultural unity in the political sphere. From very early times, therefore, men longed to set up a common political organisation for the whole country. This longing gave birth to the concept of

cakravartin or sarvabhauma (Paramount sovereign). "Monarchy at its highest", says the Aitarey Brahmana (VIII. 4,1), "should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries; it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted, and constitute and establish one state and administration in the land upto the seas. Kautilya defines a cakravartin as one holding sway over the whole land "extending north to south from the Himalayas to the sea and measuring a thousand yojana across (Kautilya Arth. 1919). Whether they consciously believed it or not, most of the great war lords of ancient India seem to have acted in pursuance of this ideal. The motive force behind the endless campaigns and expeditions of the Mauryas and the Guptas, of the Gurjara. Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rastrakutas does not seem to have been mere ambition, a passion for conquering for the sake of conquering, but a conscious or unconscious urge to bring the whole country under one single hegemony. The success attained was often partial and temporary. It was because the forces of disintegration were too strong to be permanently surmounted. The vastness of the country, the difficulty of intercommunication, the selfish ambition of local chiefs, the lack of general ideas and common interests, the almost total absence, in a word, of all the sources from which every government must draw its life and strength, this general condition rendered all attempts at empire-building infructuous. But nonetheless the ideal was there, consciously held by some, unconsciously by almost all; and its existence accounts for, to some extent at any rate, the frequency of internecine strife in ancient India.

Concurrently with the king's duty to fight, ancient writers have stressed and eulogised the soldier's duties as second to none. The Santiparva (63,24) says: "Among men the highest duties are those performed by the warrior caste. The whole world is subject to the might of their arms. All the duties, principal and subordinate of the three other orders are dependent for their observance upon the duties of the warrior". And the essence of the warrior's duty, like that of the king, lies in fighting. No matter how challenged, the warrior, who is true to his salt, must respond. He must, moreover, never think of fleeing from the battle-field. "The gods headed by Indra send calamities unto those who forsake their comrades in battle, and come home with unwounded limbs (Mahabharat Santiparva (1919), p. 97.20). No only do they get disrepute in this world, but are condemned to eternal hell after death (Sukraniti:1914). Bhisma roundly asserts that those who seek to save their own life by deserting their comrades should be slain with staves or clods, or burnt in a fire of dry grass, or slaughtered like a beast (Mahabharat: 1919, Santi, p. 97.21,22).

On the other hand, the man who dies a soldier's death on the battle-field is promised forgiveness of all his sins and the thrilling delights of a sensual paradise. The following passage from the Mahabharata is illustrative of sentiments shared by all, and expressed almost everywhere:

"The men their lives who bravely yield
To death upon the battle-field,
Their fleeting pangs and sufferings o'er,
All straight to heavenly mansions soar

There nymphs divine these heroes meet,
With witching smiles and accents sweet,
Run up and cry in emulous strife,
'Make me', 'nay, me', 'nay, me' 'thy wife'.

(Indian Antiquary: 772,X-92)

Sukra asserts that the great position that is acquired by sages after long and tedious penances is also attained by warriors who meet death in war. "This is at once penance, virtue, and eternal religion. The man, who does not flee from battle, does at once perform the duties of the four asramas". In this world, the author adds, to men go beyond the solar sphere in heaven, viz., the austere ascetic and the soldier who is killed in battle with his face to the foe (Sukraniti:1914). Such is the burden of teachings of the ancient authors. The warrior must kill or be killed in the fight; there is to be no third alternative. If he conquers the foe, he attains to fame and glory in earthly life; if he is defeated and killed in the fray, he is transported straightaway be heaven (Rgveda Samhita: 1911).

There are reasons to think that these maxims, which appealed at once to the basest and the highest in man, left a deep impress on the life of the military communities. They prepared the warriors for suffering and pain, restraint and violence, blood and tears- prepared them to embrace the horrors of destruction and terrors of the tomb cheerfully. Referring to the Maharastra country, the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, says: "whenever a general is despatched on a military expedition,

although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment; only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace". 'Utbi relates how Jayapala king of Bhatinda, was on two successive occasions defeated by Subuktagin and his more famous son, Sultan Mahmud and how, smarting under a sense of shame and dishonour, he caused a funeral pyre to be erected and perished in its flames (Elliot: 1772). Firishta adds that a custom prevailed among the Hindus that when a Raja was over-powered twice by strangers, he became disqualified to reign (Brigg's (John): 1772)

The code of military honour included other articles besides victory or death on the battle-field. Wounded and armless opponents, for instance, were to be considered as exempt from slaughter. It was also regarded as a gross offence to refuse quarter to an armed enemy, who had ceased fighting and asked for mercy. Such a person might be imprisoned, but never wounded or slain (Mahabharat: 1919 Santiparva 45,12,96,13). Similarly it was forbidden to slay one who was weary or asleep, one who was waling along a road unaware of danger, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds or stricken with grief, one who lingered trustfully, as well as the insane, the wounded, servants, camp-followers, old men, children and women (Manusamhita: 1920, VII-90-94). Moreover, prisoners of war were to be cared for and treated with humanity. The Santiparva (95,12-14) lays down that

captured opponents should either be sent to their homes, or if brought to the victor's quarters, should have their wounds attended to by skilful surgeons, and when cured, set at liberty. Further, weapons which caused unnecessary pain or which inflicted more suffering than was indispensable to overcome the foe were condemned. "When a king fights with his foes", says Manu (VII,90) "let him not strike with instruments concealed, with barbed or poisoned weapons, the points of which are blazing with fire". The seizure or destruction of enemy's property unless imperatively demanded by the necessities of war was also prohibited. Temples and their property in places under military occupation and the private property of individual citizens were on no account to be seized (Agni Purana: 1907; 22,25,226).

To what extent these conventions of chivalry were observed in actual practice we do not know. It is probable that, like the Hague and Geneva conventions in modern times, these rules were often forgotten in the bitterness of the conflict. Instances are on record of villages and towns being burnt and destroyed, in which combatants and non-combatants alike suffered (Thus several southern kings are recorded to have burnt and plundered Citrakuta (Ep.Ind. IX, 179; Ind. Ant. XII, 221) The eastern Calukya prince Gunaka-Vijayadity is known to have occupied and burnt the capital city of the Rastrakutas. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV record the devastation of the city of Mahodaya by Indra III (Ep. Ind. IX, 28). Somesvaradeva of Nagavamsa is stated to have "burnt Vengi like the great Arujuna who fired the Khandava

forest" (Ep.Ind. X, 26). Bilhana's Vikramankadevacarita describes a war waged between Vikramadity VI and his brother Jayasimha. In course of this war, it is stated, "villages were plundered and burnt and their inhabitants dragged into captivity" (Ind. Ant. V, 323). of the desecration of temples and sanctuaries by relentless conquerors, (Thus the Hathi-Gumpha Inscription tells us that when king Nanda conquered Kalinga, he carried the throne of Jina belonging to Kalinga as the highest trophy. A Gawarwad Inscription (d. sake 993-4) informs as that Rajendra-cola, when he invaded Velava, burnt down many temples, and defiled and damaged the Jain sanctuaries erected by Permandi (Ex.Ind. XV, 345). and of the imprisonment of women in violation of the precepts of the Dharma-sastra (Bana tells us that the king of Malwa, after defeating and slaying Grahavarman Maukhari, cruelly misused the latter's queen, Raiyasri, "confining her like a brigand's wife, with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet" (Harscarita, tr. by Cowell, p. 153) The Gaudavaho (p. 191, vv. 695-697) proudly records that Yasovarman, after having routed and killed the king of Gauda, carrier the ladies of his harem into slavery and made them ply the camaras over him in public durbar. The Bilhari Cedi Inscr. refers to the "crowds of captive women of enemies who again and again were made prisoners" (Ep.Ind. II, 265, v. 25). It was sometimes a matter of boast for prasasti-karas that the wives of vanquished princes were lingering in the prisons of their patron kings (ep.Ind. I, 138). There are instances also of the use of treachery and fraud, of broken pledges, of cruel assassinations in cold blood. War is, and has

always been, inherently brutal in its nature. If it "opens up the most fruitful field to all virtues", as Frederick the Great claimed, it also evokes the meanest instincts of human nature.

On the whole, however, it would seem that wars in ancient India were characterised by less violence and savagery than wars elsewhere. There is no recorded instance of such wanton and coldblooded atrocity as Athens perpetrated against Melos, Corcyra and Mytilene, or the wearers of the Cross against the defenders of the Crescent in 1099 A.D. Such incidents of war as the indiscriminate slaughter of all men of military age or the enslavement of women and children of the conquered state were hardly known. These wars, moreover, did not usually lead to any great political changes. On the whole, the chiefs were considerate of each other's rights. It was a well-established maxim of statecraft that a victor should acquiesce in the continuance of the laws, beliefs and customs of the vanquished peoples, and that instead of seeking the extermination of the defeated dynasties he should be content with their submission and tribute (Kautilya Arth. 1919, Bk. VII.16). Kalidasa tersely describes this policy as one of "uprooting and replanting. This was also the Kautilyan ideal of dharmavijaya (Kautilya Arth.:1919, Bk. XII.I) and the typical Hindu method of creating unity out of diversity in the political sphere. The history of India, especially from the Gupta period onwards, offers numerous illustrations of the application of this policy. Samudragupta's Deccan expedition, for instance, was one; the conquest of the Pandyan kingdom by

Parantaka I was another. Conscious that this was perhaps the best way of harmonising the conflicting interests of imperialism and local independence, later-day empire-builders seem to have transformed this policy into a tradition. "The Indians", writes Sulaiman (9th century A.D.) "sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare.... When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise (Elliot: 1772). The pursuit of this policy, however, had to important results. It led to the growth of that class of feudatory chiefs- the samantas, maha-samantas and maharaja- who figure so prominently and so profusely in the records of Gupta and post-Gupta India. It is also the reason why some of the princely families in India can boast of an ancestry unequalled by any royal house in Europe.

Broadly speaking, moreover, these wars seldom involved any grave disturbance either to the social equilibrium or the economic life of the people. It is a fact of paramount importance to remember that in India the social, economic and religious life of the people pursued their course irrespective of the activities of the state, and, consequently, wars and campaigns were generally regarded as the business of chiefs and kings and the professionals who chose to serve them. The bulk of the people were indifferent to the fortunes of war, and did not believe that they had any great interest whether their king "was called Harold or was called

William". This was partly due to the growth of despotism, which became the prevailing form of government, and the consequent dissociation of the people from the activities of the state, and partly to the comparative immunity from violence and molestation which the wealth-producing classes in the country enjoyed. As early as the 4th century B.C. Megasthenes noticed this peculiar trait of Indian warfare. At the very time when a battle was going on, he says, the neighbouring cultivators might be seen quietly pursuing their work,- "perhaps ploughing, gathering in their crops, pruning the trees, or reaping the harvest". We have an Indian corroboration of this assertion in an incidental statement occuring in the Abhidharma-kosavyakhya. "Philosophers", we are told, "while destroying the opinion of their adversaries must carefully respect the principles of logic, because these principles are useful to them; just as kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies, respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both armies. Hiuen Tsiang affirms that although there were enough of rivalries and wars in the 7th century A.D., the country at large was little injured by them.

A question which inevitably faces every student of India's past, especially of her military system, is- what were the causes which led to the fall of the Indus; why, in other words, did the Indian states fell an easy prey to the Muhammadan Turks in the 11th and 12th century A.D.? It is difficult to answer this question in a few paragraphs. These causes were so numerous and so involved, they were at work through so long a time, the full

understanding of their operation requires so extensive a knowledge of the laws which govern the growth and decline of peoples, that a volume may be required for a clear presentation of the subject. A brief account of the matter is made still further difficult from the fact that the fall of the Hindus has been very often made the subject of partial and incomplete treatment in order to prove some particular point, perhaps to make vivid the disabling effects of the doctrines of ahimsa and karma; perhaps to make manifest the malign influence of caste on the life of the people. Undoubtedly, the doctrine of ahimsa tended to create in certain sections of the people a deep abhorrence to all forms of violence; and the theory of karma, as popularly interpreted, produced a fatalistic outlook and disinclination for effort. But it would be as erroneous to attribute the downfall of the Hindus to the effects of these doctrines, as it is to ascribe to Christianity the downfall of the Roman empire. In both cases other and deeper causes were at work, sapping the foundations of vitality and strength; and just as the Roman empire would have fallen, as it did, even if Christianity had not found many adherents within its borders, so would the Hindu states have succumbed to the Muhammadan Turks, even if they had never known the doctrines of ahimsa and karma.

Undoubtedly also, the caste system exercised a pernicious influence on the life of the people. It divided the community into classes separated by intractable barriers, inhibited freedom of choice, promoted rigid sectional attributes and impeded the growth

of a common national consciousness. Nevertheless to explain the downfall of the Hindu states by this one premise is to simplify a problem which is inherently complex. It should be borne in mind that in spite of the prevalence of the caste system, Candragupta Maurya drove out the remnants of the Greek hosts left behind by Alexander and beat back Seleucos Nikator, Skandagupta and Yasodharman repulsed the Huns, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar checked the onrush of the armies of Islam for well over two hundred years (1336 to 1556 A.D.), and the Marathas became a mighty power on the ruins of the Mogul empire. Some writers would have us think that the caste system, by restricting the field of recruitment, diminished the fighting strength of the Hindu states, and thus prevented them from becoming what may be called "nations in arms". It has been already shown that the theory that troops were recruited from the Ksatriyas alone has no foundation in fact; and a "nation in arms" is an entirely modern concept- a legacy of the French Revolution to the world. Nor is there much truth in the statement that caste prevented the growth of a feeling "that fighting for or defending one's own country was everyone's business and not of a particular class of people (Modern Review: 1930) for such consciousness was equally absent in other medieval countries and communities where hereditary caste system of the Indian type was never known. In medieval Europe, for instance, fighting was almost wholly done by the feudal knights, and at the beginning of the modern age, by professional standing armies maintained by absolute monarchs. As in India, so in Europe down

to the eighteenth century, the mass of the people seldom mixed themselves up in wars undertaken by their masters.

The immediate causes of the fall of the Hindu states may be roughly divided into two groups- first, political causes; second, military. Among political causes may be mentioned the fact that the commencing years of the eleventh century, when the Turkish tempest beat upon the western flank of the Hindu world, were an age of decaying dynasties and of kingdoms that were falling to pieces. After the break-up of the Gurjara-Pratihar empire, northern India split up into many small kingdoms. Some of them were formed by tribal chiefs, some by military adventurers; their boundaries were shifting, and they were continually at feud with one another. This division and disunion did not make it easy for the Hindu princes to unite for a common defence and repulse of the enemy. Mr. McCrindle's remark that "if Alexander had found India united in arms to withstand his aggression, the star of his good fortune would have culminated with the passage of the Indus" is not wholly inapplicable to Muhammad-bin-Kasim, Sultan Mahmud or Muhammad of Ghor. This division and disunion also enabled the crafty invaders from the north to exploit the differences within the country, for the dread of the foreigner was apt to be less than the dread of the strong neighbour.

But the disruptive forces did not merely split up the country into numerous small kingdoms; they worked deeper than that. Even since the days of the Guptas feudal tendencies had been

steadily developing in northern India, and there are good reasons to think that with the passing away of the old powerful dynasties, they reached their maturity about the eleventh century A.D. The consequence was that the numerous kingdoms, into which northern India was divided, were themselves subdivided into a multitude of territorial fragments, ruled over by petty chiefs or lords. The exact relationship between the overlord and the feudatory chiefs cannot be determined with any amount of exactitude; but in broad outline it does not seem to have been very different from what obtained between kings and their vassals in feudal Europe. That is to say, while enjoying virtual autonomy in their own domains, the feudatory chiefs were bound by some kind of allegiance to their overlord and were expected to help him in times of war. There is, however, ample testimony that the feudatories were often intensely jealous of one another and did not look upon their subordination with equanimity. Whenever due to external or internal reasons there was a decline in the fortunes of the overlord's family, the more powerful among the feudatory chiefs threw off their dependence and forced the smaller vassals in their neighbourhood to change their allegiance. In fact, most of the Hindu states of this period seem to have been organised on such unstable, semi-feudal basis. Consequently the armies with which they fought, being mostly composed of the retainers of their subordinate chiefs, lacked that uniformity of organisation and unity of control and command which is one of the essential requisites of success in war.

This brings us to a consideration of the military causes. "The Hindu defenders of their country", V.A. Smith rightly remarks, "although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war, and for that reason lost their independence (Smith; V.A.: 1923). Success in war, it is well known, depends pirmarily on three factors, viz., moral qualities, organisation and equipment, and leadership. An exact comparison and assessment of the Hindus and their northern antagonists on these three counts would be a difficult task. The contemporary or semi-contemporary Muhammadan chronicles, from which the story of the military operations of the time is mostly derived, are often one-sided and misleading in their statements. Yet certain facts seem to stand out in glaring light, and certain inferences are possible on the basis of those facts.

By moral qualities are meant virtues like courage, energy and determination. Although the Hindus were not lacking in these virtues, the Muhammadan Turks seem to have possessed them in a larger measure. It is an amply-proved fact of history that during the simpler and more primitive stages of racial and tribal existance the moral qualities of courage and self-sacrifice, the complete subordination of individual advantage and individual comfort to the good of the community, are most apparent as a natural growth and seem to need least artificial cultivation. A civilized and prosperous community, on the other hand, is not a congenial soil for the natural development of these virtues; and the Hindus were

infinitely more civilised and prosperous than the Turks. Moreover, with this rude vigour of semi-civilised barbarians they combined the fierce religious zeal of neo-converts. "The great missionary creed of Muhammad, which to the Arabs and Persians had become a familiar matter of routine, was a source of fiery inspiration to the fresh untutored men of the steppes. To spread the faith by conquest doubled their natural zest for battle and endowed them with the devoted valour of martyrs (Lane Portes:1884). "The best soldier", said Oliver Cromwell, "is the soldier who knows what he is fighting for and loves what he knows". Like Cromwell's Ironsides, the Turks derived strength and fortitude from the belief that they were fighting on behalf of God, and that God's benign protection was always with them. The Hindus, on the other hand, lacked a common ideal for which to fight and die. Nationalism and patriotism as controlling forces of history were not yet born, here or elsewhere; and the very nature of their religion, which was a blend of many different elements- a synthesis of diverse customs, thoughts and beliefs- made them incapable of being fanatically intolerant. It is true that common antipathy against the foreigners, who plundered and destroyed their temples and sanctuaries, and who trampled under foot all that they had for ages held dear and sacred, united on a few occasions some of the ruling princes in a common endeavour to oust the intruders; but it was not a strong enough cohesive force to survive a disaster or keep in check the disruptive tendencies within the country. In short, the absence of a higher, ennobling ideal rendered the Hindus incapable of

combined effort, involving any continous strain of risk or hardship.

The comparatively inferior morale of Hindu India became evident as the drama unfolded itself. Sultan Mahmud met with stubborn resistance in his first encounters with Jayapala (1001AD.) and Anandapala (1008 A.D.); but the resounding victories which he won against the kings of Bhatinda (Bathindah) seem to have sent a thrill of consternation among the other ruling princes of India. Their demoralisation, indeed, became so complete that sometimes we hear of them fleeing their capitals and hiding themselves in forests and inaccessible hills without striking a single blow (Elliot: 1772). The panic with which they were seized is strikingly illustrated in a letter which Bhimpal is said to have written to the Candella king, Canda, "Sultan Mahmud", runs the letter, "is not like the rulers of Hind, and is not the leader of blakk men. It is obviously advisable to seek safety from such a person, for armies flee away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If therefore you design to contend with him, you will suffer, but do as you like- you know best. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment (Elliot:1772). One notices a similar demoralisation overtaking the Hindu princes a after the second battle of Tarain (1192 A.D.), where Prthviraj with his confederate hosts had fought and lost. There was no

longerany organised resistance after this great disaster; instead pusillanimity, vacillation and weak surrender. The Dabhoi Inscription (c. 1200 A.D.) remarkably illustrates the dread of the Hindu princes of this period when it says: "So many god-like kings are there on this earth; but they all become uneasy at heart even at the mention of the Turuska king (Epigraphic Indica: I.26).

Nor in battle efficiency were the scales exactly even between the Hindus and the Turks. Although the weapons used by the two adversaries were much the same, they do not seem to have been wholly on a par in the matter of equipment. As it has been pointed out before, whereas the Hindus put excessive reliance on the "illusory strength of elephants, their enemies depended for their success on the skilful use of a well-trained and well-equipped cavalry. The cavalry gave the Muhammadan forces an overwhelming superiority in mobility, an advantage emphasised by the vastness of the theatre of war and the peculiarities of its terrain. It enabled the Turkish generals to employ what is known as shock tactics, and gave them such elements of tactical advantage as surprise, advantage of ground and simultaneous attack from several quarters. In the matter of organisation, too, the Turks were at an advantage. They fought under one undivided command and obeyed one will. This rendered combination among the subordinate leaders possible; and on this combination their success in no small measure depended. The Hindu armies, on the other hand, as stated above, were often organised on a semi-feudal basis; and feudal

contingents are seldom as effective in action as they are impressive in size. It is probable also that the confederacies which were formed by some Hindu kings, as in the time of Jayapala, Anandapala and Prthviraja, suffered from a similar organisational weakness. We may well believe that the troops of the allied states were not trained and organised on uniform lines and prepared for being moulded into one army.

But nowhere is the contrast between the two adversaries more evident than in higher leadership. Hindu generals like Jayapala, Anandapala and Prthviraj were endowed with great gallantry and personal courage. But they were surprisingly lacking in strategical enterprise and tactical initiative. It is curious that throughout this long-drawn struggle they never posted frontier guards along the narrow passes of the North-western Frontier and never sought to cut off the enemy by an ambuscade while passing through the hills. Prthviraja, the last of the stalwarts, who has become a hero of poetry and romance, had won military laurels for himself before his engagement with Muhammad of Ghor, and he seems to have based on this limited experience an exaggerated belief in his own military abilities. It is sad to reflect that after the first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.) in which he won a signal victory over his Muhammadana adversary, he did not press his advantage to the farthest limit. Instead he halted his troops, leisurely besieged the fortress of Sarhind, and neglected to take adequate precautions against the return of

the Ghorian chief. It is true that when next year Muhammad came back with a yet larger force Prthviraja fought out the issue with courage and determination; but no gallantry and no heroism can save a people from the results of neglecting war preparation. Moreover, a common mistake which most Hindu chiefs of this period seem to have committed was their persistent adoption of defensive tactics. It was a mistake which robbed them of the chief elements of tactical advantage and surrendered them to the enemy. The Hindu chiefs forgot that an army condemned to eternal defensive can never deal a decisive blow. They forgot that the moral force of a confident anticipation of victory lies ever with the attack.

The Turks, on the other hand, were more fortunate in their generals. Both Sultan Mahmud and Muhammad of Ghor were men capable ofanimating their troops with a spirit of deep devotion. They appealed not merely to their greed and lust, but awakened in them an indomitable sense of duty towards religion. Moreover, not only did they possess the traditions of Parthian strategy, but also a complete system of tactics carefully elaborated to suit the requirements of the age. In craft and resourcefulness, too, they far surpassed their Indian antagonists. Above all, whereas the Hindu love of vyuhas committed the armies of India, to a cult of positions and defensive tactics, they regarded it as a fundamental proposition of warfare that offence was better than defence, that the sword was better than the shield. It will be too much to believe that the Muhammadan generals did not commit mistakes; yet a ruthless offensive spirit seems to have so saturat-

ed the minds of the Ghaznavite and Ghorian officers and men that it sufficed, notwithstanding errors in detail, to guide them in the right path of victory.

Of the Muhammadan generals, who figure prominently in the annals of the time, Sultan Mahmud in particular deserves to rank as one of the great commanders in history. A man of infinite courage and of indefatigable energy of body and mind he never owned a defeat during more than thirty years of almost incessant warfare. He was not merely a great planner of campaigns and a shrewd marshaller of hosts, but the stoutest lance in his own army (Nazim Muhammad. 1931). It is amzing how with comparatively small armies he achieved conquests which added vast tracts of territory to the inheritance left by his father. He trusted to skilful tactics, to the mobility of his troops and to the rapidity of his marches to overcome the larger and more clumsy masses of his opponents (Nazim Muhammad: 1931).

Muhammad of Ghor, though not as great a captain as Sultan Mahmud, was certainly superior to his Indian antagonists. He seems to have known the great precept which modern military science has claimed as its own that "in a cavalry combat the side which holds back the last reserve must win". In the second battle of Tarain, which was his crowning achievement, he demonstrated the truth of this dictum and also the tremendous efficacy of shock tactics. Minhaju-s Siraj writes that "The Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving the main body in the rear, with the banners,

canopies and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled (Elliot:1772). Firishta adds that the battle raged back and forth from sun-rise to sun-set, and when the Hindu army was well-nigh exhausted by a continuous succession of shocks, Muhammad "put himself at the head of 12,000 of his best horses, whose riders were covered with steel armour, and making one desperate charge, carried death and destruction throughout the Hindoo ranks (Briggs John:1772). It is thus clear that the second battle of Tarain, like the battle of the Hydaspes fought many centuries earlier between Porus and Alexander, was essentially a general's battle- the triumph of genius in command, not of mere valour.

At the commencement of this work we stated that throughout more than a millennium the art of war in India followed a stereotyped course, marked by no remarkable improvements in any of its branches. Strabo, borrowing from Megasthenes, says that the Indians did not pursue accurate knowledge of any kind, except that of medicine; and "in the case of some arts, it is even accounted vicious to carry their study far, the art of war, for instance.

But the causes of this static character of Hindu military system seem to have been deeper than a mere sense of its inherent viciousness. A similar lack of progress is noticeable in the political thought of India after Kautilya. These seem to point to the fact that the creative power of antiquity in certain spheres of speculation and achievement was exhausted. This exhaustion became manifest in other spheres as centuries rolled on. Having brought civilisation up to a certain point, the Hindus seem to have been able to carry it no further. Even in those fields where the most remarkable results had been attained, as, for example, in that of philosophy and metaphysics, nothing further seemed to be possible, except to work over the old results into new forms. Beruni bears testimony to the fact that by the 11th century the Hindus had completely lost their old genius for assimilation and absorption, and had become a grossly superstitious and vegetating people. "According to their view," says the Muhammadan savant, "there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs, and no created beings have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar". This dismal attitude of mind, which refused either to learn or unclean anything- a characteristic of the Bourbons- this pathetic state of intellectual stolidity was at once a cause and sympton of decay. In the first century A.D. the Roman Tacitus wrote his Germania, telling his countrymen that the barbarians living beyond the Rhine and the

Danube should not be despised, and that they possessed certain intrinsic virtues which the more civilised Romans might cultivate with profit. The Romans paid no heed to that warning, with the result that their great empire was overwhelmed by the inflowing tide of vigorous fighting barbarism. The Hindus committed a similar blunder. They shut themselves up in a world of isolation; narrow, cramped, torpid. They set up insurmountable barriers which no gust of wind and no ray of light could penetrate. The result was stagnation; stagnation brought decay, and decay disaster. The saying of Emerson is ever true that a thing cannot be crushed by a blow from without until ready to perish from decay within.

In the end a few words may be said on the trend of events in north-western and central India during the transitional period between 9th to 12th century. If we take a superficial view it is very difficult to understand the real force of the ideas which were directing the military and political activities of the Rajput dynasties and we incline to agree with Smith that this was a period when "India reverted to her normal condition of anarchial autonomy (Smith, V.A.: 1924) if however we study the history of the period from a different point of view, we can understand the significance of the dynastic struggles. The objects of these struggles was the establishment of another imperial power. For more than two centuries this struggle continued until the moselm, largely helped by the situation which we

have described established their authority in northern India. Thus the legacy of the Empire left by the Pratiharas continued even after their decline. It is in this idea of empire that we are to find the significance of the inter-state struggles of the 11th and 12th centuries. It is strange that the Rajput dynasties, who could combine so well against another strong dynasty did not or could not combine their forces against the moslems. The alliances that were made against the moslem invaders were of a vary loose nature without any real unity or whole-hearted concerted action. The collapse of the Chandela Rajpur dynasties marks the end of Hindu rule and the beginning of Moslem supremacy in India. Thus the military history of the Chandela Rajput dynasties of this (9th century to 12th century) period is of great importance for it links the period of the Pratiharas with that of the next great North Indian Empire- the sultanate ofDelhi

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CHAPTER-VIII

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